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The Council of the Society wishes to record its gratitude to the North Yorkshire and West Yorkshire County Councils for grants towards the cost of publishing this volume of the Journal.

The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of their authors alone, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER: 1976

COMPILED BY S. MOORHOUSE

PREHISTORIC

ABERFORD (SE 419403) R. A. Croft reports that flints were found while fieldwalking crop mark sites. Finds deposited with the Department of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

BRAMHAM CUM OGLETHORPE (SE 437413, 438410, 446432, 447429) R. A. Croft reports finds of flints made while fieldwalking crop mark sites. Finds deposited with the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

BROUGHTON (SE 76877174-77297272) C. J. Dunn reports that a pit alignment lying west of but roughly parallel to the parish boundary with Malton is visible as a cropmarks on air photographs in the Cambridge University collection.

CATTON (SE 72145343) H. G. Ramm reports that a henge has been identified on an Ordnance Survey air photograph as a crop mark showing through ploughed ridge and furrow. It has a diameter of 61 m with entrances to the north-west and south-east. Twelve ring ditches lie to the south-west, those furthest from the henge being at SE 71665301 and SE 71545320. Four of the ring ditches, at SE 71695316 to SE 71885326, are in line with the henge. An Iron Age or Romano-British settlement, a network of rectilinear enclosures with hut circles, cuts part of one of the ring ditches. Fragmentary lengths of ditch, parallel and 30-50 m apart, could be part of a cursus with an almost right-angled bend, ending just south of the henge, but may relate to the settlement.

CLOUGHTON, NEWLANDS FARM (TA 005958) S. White reports that a worn beehive quern was ploughed up by the farmer, Mr. Steel, who has retained it.

CRAMBE (SE 744646) Three ring ditches, one triple and one double, seen on air photographs and published by C. J. Dunn (*Annual Rep. Yorks. Phil. Soc.* for 1975, pp. 60-65) are not isolated. H. G. Ramm reports that other air photographs show that the gravels on either side of the Derwent from Malton to Catton are scattered with ring ditches, implying that Bronze Age round barrows may be as plentiful in the river valleys as on the chalk wolds.

DENBY, CASTLE HILL (SE 205069) J. A. Gilks reports that four flint flakes and half of a broken convex flint scraper have been picked up on the surface of the plough-reduced rampart on the south side of the Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age enclosure. Finds in the Tolson Memorial Museum.

FIMBER H. G. Ramm reports a probable cursus and ring ditches in the Scales, Fimber Grange and Fimber Station area. An aerial photograph taken by John Dent has extended parallel ditches previously known in fragmentary form from R.A.F. and Cambridge air photographs, and enables them to be interpreted as a cursus running along the valley floor, the north ditch from SE 89396106 to SE 90756104 and the southern ditch from SE 89376103 to SE 90686102. The distance between the ditches varies from 18-27 m west of Fimber Grange to 30-37 m east of the Grange. A trapezoidal enclosure, 30 m by 15 m, possibly a small long barrow, has been identified at SE 90086104, oblique to the north cursus ditch, which bends to take account of it. A group of five ring ditches, three of which are within the cursus, lies to the west of Fimber Grange but indicate a wartime searchlight post.

GREAT AYTON (NZ 561117) S. White reports that when an old tennis court was re-incorporated into a field, a very fine beehive quern was unearthed; this had possibly been used to hold up a tennis post. It is in the possession of the owner of Langbaugh Hall.

—, (NZ 57401281) An incomplete beehive quern has been found by S. White protruding at the side of a track leading to the foot of Rosebury Topping. The roughout quern has a section ranging from a hexagon to a circle, about 28 cm across and 20 cm high. The base is smooth but the sides are still rough and the uncompleted hopper, 7.6 cm by 10 cm and 3.8 cm deep, shows clear signs of pock marking. In the possession of the finder.

GRINTON, CRACKPOT (SD 974970) T. C. Welsh reports that eight to ten fields formed by escarpments are situated along the contour with banks 3 to 5 m wide, or occasionally scarps, across the contour, enclosing areas from 20 m square to cross-contour strips, 60 m by 20 m. Similar field systems have been noted at SD 995982, SE 004982 and SE 003986.

—, STUBBINGS (SE 019982) In a cleared area of 30 m by 50 m oval and round huts have been identified by T. C. Welsh. Nine were identified with at least four other possible examples. The huts measured 3-6 m, with walls 1-1.5 m thick, together with two circular enclosures, one 12 m in diameter with a bank over 2 m thick. There is an outlying hut to the west, 8 m by 6 m, and around SE 018982 are two robbed cairns and one intact cairn, c. 6 m across, and some other mounds.

HARTWITH CUM WINSLEY, BRIMHAM ROCK (SE 204648) Mrs. R. Hartley reports that a hitherto unrecorded cup and ring marked rock has been identified on private land, not to be visited without the owner's permission.

HEALAUGH, CALVER HILL (NZ 006003) On the west shoulder, 6 m north-west of a modern cairn, T. C. Welsh has identified possible remains of a cairn 10 m across.

—, CRINGLEY (NY 999002) A settlement comprising oval hut platform, cairns, walling and cleared areas, has been located by T. C. Welsh.

HOLME ON SPALDING MOOR, HASHOLME CARRS (SE 827340) P. Halkon reports the finding of a polished stone axe, 15 cm long with a cutting edge 7.4 cm wide, an oval section and rounded sides. Retained by the finder.

HUTTONS AMBO (767699) C. J. Dunn reports that air photographs show as cropmarks a complex of ploughed out tracks and enclosures which must represent more than one period. Five tracks run roughly north to south and others east to west. The enclosures, measuring 120 m by 70 m and about 40 m by 30 m, have been laid out on the west side of the easternmost track and represent at least two periods. Fieldwalking has produced flint flakes, including scrapers.

ILKLEY, ILKLEY MOOR (SE 126451) Mrs. R. Hartley reports that the stones of this circle, re-erected some five years ago, are with one exception, probably in its prehistoric socket, now again fallen. The site, formerly lost in heather, has suffered erosion from visitors – the whole area is now bare trampled soil.

—, GREEN CRAG SLACK (centred SE 131461) An area 700 m across has been examined by A. Haigh and W. Godfrey. Twenty-five cup and ring marked rocks, six of them apparently not previously recorded, have been surveyed, drawn and photographed.

—, GREEN CRAG SLACK (SE 13204598) M. J. Dodson and J. K. Finlayson report that a detailed survey of cleared areas and earthworks has been carried out east and south of SE 13204598. Work is to continue.

—, (SE 13274596) W. Godfrey has found seventeen flint artifacts in this area: 8 scrapers, a point, two truncated points, a burin, a graver, a core and three flakes.

INGLEBY GREENHOW (NZ 576042) D. A. Spratt reports that Mr. K. Grimston of Rose Cottage, Ingleby Greenhow, found a conical beehive quern of Crinoid Grit, 15 cm in diameter at the top, 32 cm in diameter at the base, and 20 cm high. It had two opposed handle holes, 2.5 cm in diameter, with two slightly displaced holes in the base, 2.5 cm in diameter, and a slightly worn concave base.

—, (NZ 577046 approx.) D. A. Spratt reports that Mr. K. Grimston found two polished stone axes, both of the Borrowdale series. One was 14 cm long, 7 cm wide maximum and 4 cm wide at the butt, 3.5 cm thick. The other was 8.5 cm long, 4.5 cm wide maximum and 3 cm wide at the butt, 1 cm thick.

—, (NZ 575045 approx.) D. A. Spratt reports that a polished Neolithic axe has been found, 13.5 cm long, 6.3 cm wide at the edge and 3.0 cm wide at the butt. It is oval in cross section, tapered flat towards the cutting edge and made of rock of the Borrowdale series. Retained by Mr. C. Tait of 18 Hebron Road, Stokesley.

KETTLEWELL (SD 993727) This is the correct grid reference for the find spot of the perforated mace head previously reported (*Register* 1975, p. 2).

KEPWICK (SE 469903) Air photography by F. A. Aberg, D. R. Brown and D. A. Spratt revealed a ploughed-down quadrilateral enclosure on Pen Hill, surveyed by R. Inman. The lengths of the sides were: north-east 76 m; south-east 60 m; south-west 52 m; and north-west 66 m. There is an entrance in the south-eastern side, 23 m from the east corner, and a ditch running eastward from the south corner. It is judged to be of Iron Age date. To the north a linear ditch about 600 m long, connected to a hollowway leading northward down the hill, forms the backbone of an extensive system of small fields. These features may be contemporary with the enclosure but further investigation will be needed to establish this.

LEDSTON (SE 432297) Excavation on this site, identified by aerial photography (*Y.A.J.*, 48 (1976), p. 14), was directed by Mrs. J. Keighley and A. B. Sumpter for West Yorkshire County Archaeological Unit and I. Hodder for the University of Leeds. An area 80 m by 20 m was opened and within it were found probable round huts, four-post structures and a series of large storage pits. The pits were separated by linear divisions. Occupation material, derived mainly from the pits and post holes at the centre of the site, included the upper and lower stones of a beehive quern and a coarse pottery vessel. Fragments of bone and flint were retrieved by the sieving of the pits' deposits. Two of the pits were re-used and each contained a flexed burial without grave goods. Excavation is to continue in 1977.

MALTON C. J. Dunn reports the following crop marks and finds on or near the route of the proposed by-pass, surveyed by R.C.H.M. and local volunteers. See also Roman and Miscellaneous sections.

—, (SE 78527274) Ring ditch, diameter 15 m, with traces of an outer concentric ditch.

—, (SE 79737230) Where a ring ditch is visible as a crop mark on N.M.R. and Cambridge University air photographs a very low ploughed mound, diameter 16 m, survives in a field adjoining Old Malton Cricket Ground.

—, (SE 78207285) Six flints were found, including a deeply patinated core rejuvenator and a gun flint.

—, (SE 78507270) Four flint flakes were found during fieldwalking.

—, (SE 80657328) Part of a stone axe of fine-grained dark grey rock and a flint scraper were found.

MELBECKS, GUNNERSIDE (SD 951989) Evidence of defences on a quarried promontory, notably on the south and south-east and across the eastern approach, have been noted near Pottings by T. C. Welsh.

NORTH CAVE (SE 878322) A further half acre of this site was excavated under the direction of R. W. Mackey adjacent to the 1974 site (*Register* 1974, p. 4). A fourth round house was located, as well as several four-post structures and a complex of enclosure ditches, mainly pre-Roman in date. Further work is anticipated.

NORTH DEIGHTON R. A. Croft reports the following finds of flints made during fieldwalking over crop mark sites and deposited in the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

—, (SE 381509, 383509, 381515, 382512, 384513) Flints, including flakes.

OXENHOPE (SE 463226) J. A. Gilks reports that G. Chambers found further waste flakes and chippings in a yellow-brown clay deposit to the west of Nab Water Site 3 (*Register* 1974, p. 1). Retained by the finder.

SCARCROFT (SE 384417) R. A. Croft reports the finding of flints here. Deposited with the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

SHEFFIELD T. C. Welsh has identified the following new sites and reports on a re-examination of already known sites, within Sheffield city boundary.

—, ASH CABIN FLAT (SK 271864) A small promontory fort is formed by a stony bank and shallow ditch, with rough walls round the other approaches formed by aligning rocks on the site along natural breaks in the slope. A D-shaped area, 15 m by 16 m, abuts on the inside of the bank within the vestiges of a rough wall. Incorporated in this wall is a long stone of triangular section, on which a pair of opposing slots have been cut in adjacent sides. Outside the fort, at SK 270864, is a possible cairn 12 m long by 5 m and about 1 m high. On the promontory west of the fort at SK 269866 are remains of a possible double-walled enclosure 12 m in diameter internally.

—, BLACKA MOOR (SK 289805) Beside the waterfall a rock shelter has been extended by a drystone structure lintelled over.

—, BOLE HILL (SK 291799) Hill Fort: the summit of the hill, between Bole Hill Lodge and the city boundary, an area estimated at 450 m by 150 m, is contained within the remains of ramparts and ditches. Extensive damage resulted from a gas pipe line constructed along the west side in 1967, but an air photograph of 1966 shows the fort intact. Further damage was sustained in 1976 from fire-breaks. A ditch 2 m deep is evident for a short distance across the south approach; the apparent eastern defences are followed by a track. On the highest point, within a bank, are a number of contiguous hut platforms and circles, 6–10 m across; over the remainder of the fort is a scatter of small platforms. To the south, on Brown Edge in Derbyshire, are several small groups of hut platforms.

—, BURTINAT, RIVELIN (SK 263872) A settlement, partly enclosed, astride the ridge and extending to the ground below crags to the south, covers an area about 150 m by 100 m, containing hut platforms and circular and oval enclosures. The enclosures along the crest of the crags include one 14 m by 12 m with walls over 2 m wide, another 15.5 m in diameter with walls over 1.5 m wide, and others 9 m, 12 m and 13 m in diameter and 13 m by 15 m. A hollow way was noted approaching from Rivelin Brook on the north-west. Outlying remains were noted at SK 262873 and at SK 265871 on the tip of the promontory.

—, CARL WARK (SK 259814) Outworks have been noted defining an area over twice that contained by the main defences. These occur on the north-west end of the summit ridge, outside the rampart, and across the south-west aspect; they comprise intermittent short lengths of wall base. Particularly noted were a length of 6 m perpendicular to the north end of the rampart, a section 3 m long at the north-west end of the summit, where two courses of outface are suggested, and close to a tor at the west angle. A second work apparently incorporates the tor. Outworks have also been noted on the crest of the landslip on the south-east of the fort. There is evidence of adaptation of natural terraces across the south-west side.

—, CASTLEDYKE (SK 310838) The circular feature recorded by the Hunter Archaeological Index from an air photograph was visited. A section of shallow ditch and outer bank was located in the field east of and adjoining that containing the feature, together spread over about 24 m. A small piece of flint, not obviously man-made, was picked up some 50 m north-west of the site and is in the possession of the finder.

—, HEAD STONE BANK (SK 261873) A scattered settlement was noted in the form of small clusters of huts and hut platforms accompanied by walling and cleared ground.

—, NEW HAGG (SK 263868) A scattered settlement and fields similar to the preceding site were noted. A possible group of cairns, some with edge-placed slabs incorporated, was noted at SK 258871 and at SK 263869 was an exposed long cist and cairns. The cist, internally 1.9 by 0.2–0.3 m, lies along the contour on a slope and may have been compressed by soil creep. It comprises two opposing pairs of slabs continued by several smaller slabs, with squat stones at the head and foot. In alignment 45 m south-south-west of it is a hogsback cairn, 3.5 m by 1.5 m and 0.7 m high, which may contain an intact cist. To the west of these is a smaller hogsback cairn and below to the east are ovals 3.5 m by 2.5–3 m.

SKERNE, PICK HILLS (TA 053547) T. G. Manby reports that a polished flint axe, 8 cm long with faceted sides, was found and is now in the C. and E. Grantham Collection, Driffield.

STOKESLEY, BARLEY HILL (NZ 516100) D. A. Spratt reports that a number of flint tools, including a pebble scraper, thumb scrapers, a spokeshave and a saw, have been found over several years on the ridge overlooking the River Tame. Recently a concentration of waste flints, including two mesolithic cores, were found on the south-west side of the ridge. The finds were retained by Mr. A. Ridley.

—, SEAMER CARR (NZ 48560965) D. A. Spratt reports that a flint scraper and a piece of deer antler were ploughed up at the end of a small boulder clay peninsula which projects into the prehistoric lake from its southern shore. Trenches dug into the old shore and peat deposits nearby did not yield any other finds.

—, (NZ 527100) D. A. Spratt reports that the sharp end of a broken Neolithic polished axe was ploughed up and retained by Mr. A. Ridley. The length of the fragment was 6 cm, the maximum width 5 cm and the maximum thickness was 3.3 cm. A Neolithic scraper with pressure flaking was found nearby at NZ 522100.

—, (NZ 534111) D. A. Spratt reports that half of the upper stone of a bun-shaped beehive quern was ploughed up 45 m west of Stanley Grange Farm. The diameter at the base was 28 cm; the height at the centre was 9 cm; the diameter of the hole at the base was 2.5 cm. A central hemispherical hopper in the top was 6 cm in diameter and there were two opposed handle sockets. The working surface was very polished and concave. The stone was a fine-grained sandstone of unknown provenance. Retained by the finder, Mr. C. Tait.

TADCASTER (SE 44954256) R. A. Croft reports that a single flint blade was found on Tadcaster High Moor and deposited with the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

TEMPLE NEWSAM, SKELTON GRANGE (SE 341307) Fieldwork by students of Cross Green Comprehensive School recovered flint waste from this known mesolithic site on the river terrace.

THIMBLEBY, THIMBLEBY MOOR (SE 470944) Air photography by D. R. Brown and D. A. Spratt revealed an extensive system of small, irregular fields with tumbled stone walls covering large parts of the northern slope of the recently burned-off heather moor. There are also a few round cairns. To the south, on the crest of the moor, are four standing stones and some fallen megaliths ('The Nine Stones'), perhaps the remains of a double alignment leading to the site. One mile to the south-west, on Over Silton Moor, also recently burned-off, are a dozen cairns with small, irregular field walls – a typical cairnfield, tentatively ascribed to the Bronze Age. Nearby a conspicuous group of recumbent megaliths, one of them bearing 13 closely spaced cup-marks, forms an approximate oval, 32 m by 40 m. A circular roughened millstone, 110 cm in diameter and 20 cm thick, lies among them. The group may be a prehistoric monument, mutilated later by quarries, but an entirely geological explanation is also possible.

THORNER AND WOTHERSOME A systematic fieldwalking survey is being made by M. J. Ecclestone of the ground within 250 m of Milner Beck in order to locate prehistoric settlement. Flint fragments are widely scattered and one is normally found in every 400 sq.m. Higher concentrations have been located at SE 39904210, 39984214, and 39254170. Fine leaf-shaped arrowheads were found at SE 39234172 and 39274166. A possibly prehistoric potsherd was found at SE 40044213. The objects are deposited with the finder.

THWING, PADDOCK HILL (TA 030707) A fourth season of excavation of this Bronze Age hill-fort was directed by T. G. Manby for the Prehistory Research Section of the Y.A.S., in collaboration with Sewerby Hall Museum (*Register* 1975, p. 3). Most of the north-western quadrant of the fort was examined immediately north of the transect excavated in 1974. The Bronze Age date of the fort was again confirmed by prolific material. The outer rampart remained as a ridge of heavy chalk rubble, 8.5–9 m wide, with a bedding trench on the lip of the defensive ditch and two rows of postholes, 2 m apart, for a box-rampart structure. A gateway through the rampart on the north-west to south-east axis of the site was the most surprising discovery, since crop mark and geophysical evidence indicated that the outer ditch is continuous at this point. The bedding trench marking the outer edge of the rampart turned inwards to link with pairs of large postholes aligned with the two lines of holes for the box-rampart.

A pre-rampart occupation was represented by a spread of charcoal on top of a brown clay soil. Large quantities of pottery, animal bones and utilised stones were recovered from this layer. Within the rampart dark brown soil covered the top of the natural chalk, filled the upper portions of natural hollows and formed the uppermost filling of the inner ditch. Between this ditch and the rampart scatters of postholes and hollows were cut into the natural weathered chalk.

The inner ditch was 2 m at the weathered lips with a causeway of unexcavated chalk 2 m wide. A line of pits had been cut in the centre of this causeway and a further pit across the inner end had an ox skull burial laid on a heap of stones. Within the ditch two lines of stake holes continued the approach towards the central building (outside the area of the 1976 excavation). A further complex of pits and postholes concentrated in this area formed no special pattern. The latest features were wide slots running from north to south across the upper filling of the inner ditch.

A butt of a very fine 'Loose Howe' type battleaxe of reddish quartzite and sherds of cord-decorated Food Vessels were the earliest material from the site. Most of the pottery recovered was in a coarse gritty fabric, with decoration confined to finger tip impressions, from bucket and barrel-shaped vessels. A large flint industry dominated by scrapers was a feature of the site. Animal bones and utilised stones were recovered in quantities. Bronze items were a cast ring and three pins, two with decorated heads comparable with continental Urnfield pins.

The first radiocarbon date available of 950 ± 70 b.c. has been determined from charcoal collected from the pre-rampart occupation layer excavated in 1974. A systematic magnetometer survey was started in 1975 and completed in 1976 by A. and P. T. Aspinall, J. A. Pocock and A. R. Walker. Major features located were the south-east entrance through the main ditch, showing a clear inturn of the ditch, an enhanced area of magnetic anomaly near the entrance, probably associated with a scatter of burnt stone in the plough soil, and a ditch outside the main ditch of the fort on the south-east. Aerial photography has revealed a rectangular feature some 275 m east of the hill-fort. This was successfully located by use of an earth resistivity instrument and its dimensions defined as 45 m by 55 m with some internal structures.

—, OLD HILL (TA 02547056) T. G. Manby reports that a large barbed and tanged flint arrowhead was found and retained by K. Campbell.

—, PADDOCK HILL (TA 03147082, 02777067) Flakes struck from polished stone axes of greenish tuff were found by J. Wilson.

ULROME (TA 174575 approx.) C. and E. Grantham report seeing a small side-looped bronze spearhead that had been picked up on the beach.

WETWANG (SE 945601) Excavations directed by J. Dent for D.O.E. continued ahead of quarrying in Wetwang Slack. An extensive Iron Age cemetery had grown up alongside an existing trackway. A further thirty three square-ditched barrows were excavated, bringing the total of burials found to almost 200. The cemetery was partly overlain by a farm enclosure of the first-second century A.D. Outside the farm were the remains of six round houses. The richest burial contained two bronze bracelets, a bronze ear-ring, a bronze inlaid brooch and a necklace of blue glass beads. Another had a fine bronze brooch and inlaid bracelets.

WEST BURTON, SORRELSYKE PARK (SE 024884) T. G. Mamby reports that a bifacially flaked knife of dark grey chert found in the garden of this house in 1937 has been passed to Harrogate Museum.

WOTHERSOME (SE 396423) R. A. Croft reports the finding of flints here, now deposited with the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

ROMANO-BRITISH

ABERFORD (SE 429379) R. A. Croft reports that Roman pottery was found while fieldwalking crop mark sites, now deposited with the Dept. of Archaeology, Leeds.

ADEL CUM ECCUP, ADEL MILL FARM (SE 274406) Fieldwork by R. A. Croft produced one piece of Roman pottery. The field at SE 277409, the supposed site of the Romano-British settlement, was under pasture and there slight traces of possible earthworks were noted but not planned.

BARWICK IN ELMET (SE 366387) D. Haigh and the Bradford Grammar School Archaeological Society examined a probable Roman road near Field Head on the parish boundary with Thorner. The agger was 7.6 m wide and up to 46 cm high. Excavation showed that it was set on natural clay, with a body of sandy clay up to 30 cm thick and topped by sand up to 20 cm thick, containing some gravel and cobble. Two possible sandstone kerbs 7.6 m apart were identified, one probably displaced. The road width was about 6 m and the south ditch was about 1 m wide and about 35 cm deep. The northern ditch had probably been destroyed by a modern open drain. The section was cut along part of an alignment running west-east for 8 km between Street Lane, Chapel Allerton and Flying Horse Farm, Barwick in Elmet, parallel to and about 1.6 km south of Roman roads Margary 72b and 729. Finds on this alignment (*Register* 1972, p. 273 and 1973, p. 146) are not now thought to be part of Margary 712. A suggested designation of this new alignment is Margary 727.

BRAMHAM CUM OGLETHORPE M. Thackrah reports that systematic fieldwalking in the township has produced finds of Roman pottery at the following sites.

—, WHITEWELLS FARM (SE 418403).

—, WELLHILL FARM (SE 418419) An unidentified coin was also found.

—, OGLETHORPE HILLS (SE 445430).

—, HOPE HALL (SE 4065429).

—, (SE 438410, 437413, 446432, 447429).

CASTLEFORD (SE 426262) Mrs. P. Judkin reports that a bronze coin of Valentinian I or Valens was found at Lock Lane playing fields, very close to the line of the Roman road north from Castleford. The coin was retained by the finder.

COLLINGHAM (SE 377475) R. A. Croft reports the finding of Roman pottery when fieldwalking a crop mark site. The finds are deposited in the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

—, DALTON PARLOURS (SE 403446) The Roman villa is being totally excavated under the direction of Miss M. L. Faull and A. B. Sumpter for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. Mechanical stripping of the entire villa area has revealed the timber slots and stone wall footings of a number of buildings. Much of the stratification and the mosaic pavements had already been destroyed by ploughing, but the lower levels still survive and it is hoped that it will be possible to reconstruct the plan of the villa. The first building to be cleared contained quantities of painted wall plaster. The coins and pottery found so far suggest occupation from the late second century to the late fourth century A.D. Finds include a bronze candlestick 12 cm high, supported by three dolphins.

The buildings lay within a series of overlapping enclosures. Some of the ditches had been refilled in Roman times presumably as a larger area was required; at least one building overlay a filled-in ditch. Other ditches had been filled with tumbled stonework from the buildings, probably at the end of the occupation. See also Anglo-Saxon section.

DARRINGTON (SE 482182, 494179, 483182, 489178) R. A. Croft reports that finds of Roman pottery were made while fieldwalking crop mark sites. Finds are deposited with the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

DONCASTER, ST. SEPULCHREGATE (SE 574034) Excavations directed by J. R. Magilton for Doncaster Excavation Committee revealed three parallel ditches, almost certainly the western defences of a *vicus*. The innermost contained late second or early third-century material, but the outer pair had been dug in the fourth century. A Swanpool type 'H' jar, containing 48 Constantinian bronze coins, was recovered from a small pit on the west side of the central ditch, and an identical vessel was found on the east side. The finds are deposited in Doncaster Museum.

EGTON, LEASE RIGG (NZ 815042) The military site, sectioned in 1958 by R. H. Hayes and J. G. Rutter, and recently surveyed by the R.C.H.M., was excavated under the direction of B. R. Hartley for the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds. The main enclosure of 2.7 acres had a single V-shaped ditch 7–10 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep and a turf rampart 16 ft. thick with its front, set back 6 ft. from the inner lip of the ditch, laid on massive, roughly-quarried stone. Pits filled with burnt material and the emplacements of two successive ovens were found within the rampart. Part of an internal timber building was located. A second, smaller enclosure or annexe to the west had a U-shaped ditch 16 ft. wide and 7 ft. deep, recut after some growth of peat, but the rampart of turfy clay had been levelled. There was no evidence for occupation within this enclosure. All the pottery from the site, including much gritted ware in native style, falls within the period A.D. 70–120.

FERRY FRYSTON (SE 471264) Mrs. P. Judkin reports the finding of a bronze coin 14 mm in diameter but too badly worn for identification. It has been deposited in Wakefield Art Gallery and Museum.

FIMBER (SE 88106132) H. G. Ramm for the R.C.H.M., York, reports that an aqueduct partly known to J. R. Mortimer has been identified from fieldwork and air photography. It probably runs from the springs at Burdale Farm, Wharram Percy, for a distance of 700 m, in which it descends some 30 m, carefully contoured. Its destination is unknown.

GRINDALE, EAST LEES FARM (TA 14327187) J. R. Earnshaw reports that a hut floor of cobbles, sandstone and chalk blocks was found during ploughing. The floor, 3 m in diameter, lay beneath 30 cm of modern plough soil and rested on a thin layer of black soil over natural chalk rock. Sherds of Romano-British grey ware and bone fragments were between its stones. The finds are in Sewerby Hall Museum.

HAYTON (SE 818455) A straight ditch continuing the line of the south-east defences of the fort is visible on Cambridge University air photographs. After running north-west for 60 m this ditch turns at right-angles, forming a rounded corner, and may represent an annexe to the fort on the north-west, enclosing an area 105 m by 65 m. Settlement features, including a trapezoidal enclosure containing a circle, probably representing a hut, are also visible nearby.

KIPPAX (SE 42933125) Mrs. P. Judkin reports that a bronze coin of Constantine II was found by Messrs. Simpson and Kitchen, who retained it.

MALTON (SE 78207285) C. J. Dunn reports that surface finds from fieldwalking include four sherds, one from a flanged bowl and another with calcite grits.

—, (SE 78307275) Air photographs show a complex of enclosure and ditches, perhaps of Roman date, some of which will be destroyed by the proposed by-pass.

NORTH CAVE (SE 878322) R. W. Mackey reports that one Romano-British ditch produced a fine rough-cast beaker and a stamped mortarium.

NORTH DEIGHTON (SE 381509) R. A. Croft reports finds of Roman pottery made during fieldwalking over crop mark sites.

SPOFFORTH WITH STOCKELD, BRAMHAM HALL (SE 363532) M. Thackrah has recovered Roman pottery while fieldwalking systematically in this area.

SPENBOROUGH, HUNSWORTH (SE 195270) Traces of a heavily damaged and slightly cambered agger were located on the township boundary to the west of Drub. Excavation showed that the road was composed of a mixture of sand, gravel and clay, about 5.7 m wide and up to 21 cm thick, set on natural clay. No road metalling was observed, but there were traces of a south-east ditch, about 0.75 m wide and about 0.50 m deep. Fieldwork and excavation on the Manchester-Tadcaster road (Margary 712) by the Bradford Grammar School Archaeological Society and Saddleworth W.E.A. archaeological class, led by D. Haigh, has continued (*Register* 1975, p. 4).

STAMFORD BRIDGE (SE 71665570) H. G. Ramm, for the R.C.H.M., York, reports that the curved corner of a possible fort, showing as a faint crop mark on an Ordnance Survey air photograph, suggests that the kiln formerly published (*Y.A.J.*, 38 (1955), p. 552) is a military oven at the back of the rampart.

WELTON, WELTON WOLD (SE 974279) Continued excavation on this site was directed by R. W. Mackey for the D.O.E. (*Register* 1974, p. 145). The final 4 acres of this 22-acre Roman farm were excavated. Four more corn-drying ovens were found, one with an adjoining sunken threshing floor; this oven was partly reconstructed and fired. The most surprising discovery was of two *grubenhauser*, both clearly dated by coins and pottery to the late third century A.D. The smaller of these had an oven at one end and four lateral posts to support the roof. The larger one was of sill beam construction. Crouched and casual human burials were associated with the dwellings. Two more animal burials found included that of a calf, buried in a rock-cut grave in the floor of a small chalk pit.

WEARDLEY, BURDON HEAD (SE 295437) See Medieval section.

WENSLEY (SE 08148925) A Roman fort, 300 m by 400 m, is reported by the Ordnance Survey from an air photograph. The fort, 150 m north of the River Ure and 800 m south-east of Bolton Hall, has double ditches and *tutuli* outside the three entrances visible. Slight indications of internal features also appear.

WHORLTON (NZ 483024) R. Inman reports that Roman pottery has again been turned up in Whorlton churchyard, consisting of a fourth-century cooking-pot rim, a fourth-century mortarium rim and seven body sherds. All were found in the same locality as the initial find in a churchyard extension in 1908 of second and third-century rims and body sherds. This suggests a continuous occupation from the second to the fourth century. The finds will go to the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough.

WOTHERSOME (SE 40034213) Fieldwalking by M. J. Ecclestone has produced a small thin semi-circular jet object, with holes piercing the flat sides. Parallels from elsewhere are Roman in date, although no other Roman material has been recovered from the immediate area.

YORK The following excavations were carried out by the York Archaeological Trust, under the direction of P. V. Addyman.

—, (SE 60575217) See Medieval section.

—, (SE 60505209) Earlier, Roman, levels were examined in the bases of cellars on this site, south-west of *The Bedern*. Timber buildings of early phases of the legionary fortress were replaced in the early second century by stone buildings and a road, representing a complete replanning.

—, (SE 60325109) In the *Clementhorpe/Cherry Street* area a block recently cleared of nineteenth-century terrace housing was partly investigated. A large and well-appointed fourth-century town house, apparently suburban, had stood on the edge of a terrace overlooking the River Ouse. Two rooms and part of a third were investigated. One was apparently a large *triclinium* with a polygonally-apsed end and a mosaic floor, badly disturbed. A smaller adjacent room contained a better preserved mosaic, first found in 1851, which was lifted for conservation and display. Part of an inscribed dedication slab was found in a later lime kiln on the site.

—, (SE 60345185) The relaying of a main sewer along *Parliament Street* at a depth of 7–8 m provided a cross-section of deposits south-east of the Roman fortress. The fortress wall, well-preserved, with a finely-dressed plinth, was recorded and the old natural profile between it and the River Foss were established.

ANGLO-SAXON

COLLINGHAM, DALTON PARLOURS (SE 403446) Three rim sherds of decorated early pagan Anglo-Saxon pottery were found in the upper fill of one of the ditches on the Roman villa site during initial cleaning after stripping. A burial with an Anglo-Saxon annular brooch was recovered under tumbled stonework in one of the internal ditches.

FILEY, QUEEN STREET Excavations under the direction of P. G. Farmer revealed evidence of timber buildings of tenth and eleventh-century date.

GRIM'S DITCH (SE 35793803-SE 37583025) The West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit has carried out fieldwork along the line of this postulated Dark-Age defensive and eastward-facing earthwork running to the east of Leeds and Temple Newsam. Some stretches have been destroyed by the modern road and by ploughing, but a number of well-preserved sections have now been identified and the earthwork can be shown to run southwards from SE 35793803 to SE 37583025. It is hoped that further work will determine whether it originally continued south to the River Aire.

INGLETON, RIBBLEHEAD (SD 765784) A final season's excavation was carried out on this farmstead, under the direction of A. King for the Ingleborough Centre and the D.O.E. (*Register* 1975, p. 6). Areas not fully examined last season were completed.

KIPPAX (SE 42933125) Mrs. P. Judkin reports that an annular brooch of probable seventh-century date was found in pipeline back-fill by Messrs. Simpson and Kitchen. The brooch is of cast bronze, originally with an iron pin of which only slight traces remain. Its lug is D-shaped in section with the upper surface moulded in the form of well-executed bead and reel ornament. It is in the finders' possession.

SEAMER (TA 025824) Excavations by R. T. Shadla-Hall on the site of a new waste disposal plant for North Yorkshire County Council produced Anglian pottery resembling that from Crossgates and some unidentified, very coarse, pottery from two ditches, pits and post holes. Deep sections were cut to gain a picture of the natural stratigraphy.

UPLEATHAM Mrs. S. Knight reports that the cross fragments recovered during excavation at the church (*Register* 1974, p. 9) have now been deposited with the Rector of Skelton. It is hoped to place them in the modern church in Upleatham.

WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858642) At the northern end of the village an eighth-century *grubenhaus* was excavated with 250 sherds of Middle Saxon pottery and a bone comb. There are now sufficient Anglian sherds to suggest continuity at least at the northern end of the site.

YARM (NZ 421117) Miss M. M. Brown reports that a Class F penannular brooch was discovered in the garden of a newly-built house on an estate to the south of Yarm. The brooch is of bronze and in excellent condition. Its terminals are decorated with formalised animal ornament. There are small grooves on part of the ring and the pin is purposely bent. The nearest comparable example is from Pike Hall, Derbyshire. No bone or other material was associated with the find, now in the Cleveland County Archaeological Collection.

YORK (SE 60425168) See Medieval Section.

MEDIEVAL

ABERFORD (SE 429379) R. A. Croft reports that medieval pottery has been found during fieldwalking on a crop mark site. The finds have been deposited in the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

ADEL CUM ECCUP, ADEL MILL FARM (SE 274406) Fieldwork by R. A. Croft for the Leeds University Union Archaeological Society produced an extensive scatter of thirteenth to fifteenth-century pottery with pieces suggesting that they were from a nearby settlement and not the result of manuring.

ALLERTON MAULEVERER, ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH (SE 416579) Excavation by L. A. S. Butler, R. A. Croft and R. Morris, with Leeds University Union Archaeological Society and York extra-mural class, on behalf of the Redundant Churches Fund, discovered two periods in the chancel prior to the rebuilding of c. 1745. The earlier was apsidal, probably twelfth-century in date; the latter was square-ended, probably of the fifteenth century. There was no dating evidence directly associated with these structures. Structural investigation also confirmed that the south arcade, the adjacent wall to the east and the short length of walling at the east end of the north arcade were fifteenth-century in date.

AUSTHORPE, MANSTON (SE 379345) Fieldwork by students at John Smeaton School recovered twelfth-thirteenth-century pottery from the fields to the north of Manston.

BARWICK IN ELMET (SE 406354) A complex series of earthworks has been identified by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit in the western part of the township adjoining the boundary with Parlington. At least two groups of low bell-pit mounds overlies well-preserved ridge and furrow. The group nearest Laverack is surrounded by a bank and ditch, while the less well defined mounds towards Throstle Nest Farm are not as regular. No evidence was found to date these mounds, other than that they are later than the use of the field system. The modern access to Throstle Nest Farm is along a raised causeway which bisects a once larger field, in which the earthworks partly lay. No remains were visible in crops to the north of the track.

—, LAZENCROFT (SE 382345) The site of the medieval settlement of Lazencroft, now a single farm, was visited by Miss M. L. Faull and S. A. Moorhouse on behalf of the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. The fields immediately south of the farm contain earthworks likely to be medieval in date. A pond to the west is surrounded by a bank which seems to be more recent and the field to the east contains prominent earthworks associated with the modern Barnbow munitions factory.

—, SHIPPEN (SE 389345) The site of the medieval settlement of Shippen, now a single farm, was also visited by Miss M. L. Faull and S. A. Moorhouse. All the fields around the farm have been subjected to open-cast mining except for that immediately adjacent to the south-east of the farm. Its eastern corner contained prominent earthworks with sharp profiles related to its use as part of the modern munitions factory. In the south-west corner of the field were several pits, apparently the result of quarrying. Between these and the eastern earthworks were a number of more weathered earthworks. At least two house platforms, probably dating back to the medieval settlement, could be identified.

BRAMHAM CUM OGLETHORPE (SE 434424, 437413, 445430, 447429) R. A. Croft reports the finding of medieval pottery while fieldwalking crop mark sites.

BROTON (NZ 692198) Excavations directed by S. K. Chapman for the Guisborough and District Archaeological Society on a series of medieval enclosures uncovered the north and south wall foundations, 9 m apart, of a building with a clay floor and evidence of an internal partition. A ditch was found outside the south wall with stone paving leading to a cobbled yard which ran to the north wall of the associated smallholding. Pottery associated with these remains was generally of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.

CHAPEL ALLERTON (SE 315369) R. E. Yarwood has recovered some 200 sherds of medieval pottery, including about 20 twelfth-thirteenth-century rim sherds, from a 15 m-stretch of public footpath on the north-east side of the Gledhow valley.

CLIFTON, WHITWOOD (SE 15452538) The area around this farm was examined by S. Moorhouse and R. E. Yarwood, for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit, for evidence of the well-documented medieval settlement. The field immediately east of the farm produced two sherds of thirteenth-fourteenth-century pottery. That to the west contained at least four terraced platforms on the slope between the modern access road and a slight bank to the north of it. The earlier access route to the farm, Whitwood Lane, now an overgrown embanked roadway, continued north through Wyke as part of the indirect medieval route from Clifton to Bradford. It was superseded in the early nineteenth century by the turnpike road in the valley bottom.

COLLINGHAM (SE 377475) R. A. Croft reports the discovery of medieval pottery when fieldwalking on a crop mark site.

DARRINGTON (SE 482182, 494179, 483182, 483190) R. A. Croft reports the finding of medieval pottery during fieldwalking over crop mark sites.

DONCASTER, ST. SEPULCHREGATE (SE 574034) Excavations directed by J. R. Magilton for Doncaster Excavation Committee, financed by the D.O.E. and South Yorkshire County Council, located two medieval cess-pits, one of which contained the greater part of a polychrome jug. Three malting ovens were also discovered, two of them keyhole-shaped and one square with sloping stone-lined sides and a flagged base. A well containing a large quantity of non-local medieval pottery was emptied.

—, SUBSCRIPTION ROOMS (SE 575033) Excavations directed by P. C. Buckland and J. R. Magilton for Doncaster Excavation Committee and the D.O.E. defined substantial footings of a late medieval building fronting onto the High Street. Well-preserved environmental material recovered from between clay floors indicated squalid living conditions, with food debris and layers of cut vegetation accumulating to several centimetres in thickness before a fresh clay floor was deemed necessary. The finds have been deposited in Doncaster Museum and work is proceeding on this site.

FELKIRK (SE 389128) P. Mayes, S. Moorhouse and R. E. Yarwood, for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit have located earthworks near Felkirk church. Croft boundaries of a settlement, possibly Hodroyd, terminate in a boundary bank on the north-west. Possible medieval building platforms and associated earthworks survive at the southern end of the field and the northern end contains earthworks of an industrial nature, possibly post-medieval in date. Ridge and furrow bounds the site on the north-west and north-east and runs partly under the industrial earthworks. A field centred at SE 388128 contains well-preserved earthworks, probably related to a post-medieval tannery; the site overlies ridge and furrow.

FERRY FRYSTON (SE 469265) Mrs. P. Judkin reports the findings of a bronze jetton of the city of Tours, probably thirteenth-fourteenth-century in date; it was retained by the finder.

FILEY, 34 QUEEN STREET Excavations directed by P. G. Farmer revealed the remains of an eighteenth-century bait shed, twelfth and thirteenth-century structures and evidence of earlier timber buildings. Much pottery was recovered, now on display at Filey Museum.

GUISBOROUGH, WESTGATE (NZ 614159) Rescue excavations were undertaken by M. M. Brown for Cleveland County to the rear of Westgate in the area of the Mechanic's Yard. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the site was occupied by two cottages and stables. Among the building material found was masonry from Guisborough Priory, including a moulded stone with a consecration cross on it. Occupation was found to extend back to the mid-fifteenth century when the site had been cleared to the natural subsoil. The structure uncovered formed a rear wing to the property fronting on Westgate. Three phases of buildings were discernible, two of timber post construction from the mid-fifteenth and later sixteenth centuries and one of stone from the eighteenth century. The structures were for domestic and industrial purposes. Pits containing sealed pottery groups have proved to be of considerable interest in the context of the North Riding.

HULL A number of sites were examined by the Hull excavation unit during 1976 under the direction of Ben Whitwell.

—, BLACKFRIARS (TA 10022844) The limestone foundations of the east wall of the medieval Guildhall, with a brick return on the west, were located east of Queen Street. The limestone slabs were laid over the filling of a watercourse running north-south. Its peaty fill contained well-preserved leather, of which the most notable piece was a dagger sheath with an impressed decoration of a bird-man grotesque akin to examples in manuscripts.

—, BLACKFRIARGATE (TA 10042840) On the medieval *Monkgate* a series of linear trenches cut into the clay, parallel to and at right-angles to one another, are being excavated in the southern part of the area formerly occupied by the Augustinian Friars. The trenches are of fifteenth-century date and interpreted as part of a garden layout; a series of soil samples may give useful evidence.

—, MYTONGATE (TA 09882844) The excavations of yards and gardens on the southern side of Mytongate, started in 1975, was completed. They were defined by a boundary wall of rendered coursed chalk rubble, later rebuilt in brick. The area so contained fits the street frontage measurement of two adjoining properties as given in 1347 Rental. The first fourteenth-century house structure had limestone padstones laid directly on a man-made platform of clay raised above the level of the surrounding natural clay to combat flooding. Later structures were brick-built.

—, MYTONGATE (TA 09712845) A substantial portion of one of the principal gates through the western defences was located below Mytongate in the construction work for a new road to replace it. Only a brief record was possible of the surviving brickwork on either side of the gate. Whether this was part of the original fourteenth-century structure or a later rebuilding was impossible to say, but part of the Civil War arrangements may have been observed outside the remains of the medieval gate.

—, QUEEN STREET/MYTONGATE (TA 09982844) At the southern junction of Queen Street with Mytongate the south-west corner of the foundations of the medieval gaol was found, with an adjoining garderobe pit. The original structure was a five-storey tower, and the foundations, correspondingly solid, were of coursed limestone slabs set in a trench cut into the clay. The bottom course of brickwork only survived on this foundation. To the west of the gaol the earliest domestic structures were of timber post and beam construction, subsequently rebuilt in brick.

HUNSWORTH, TOFTSHAW (SE 190295) The area around the present farm was examined by S. Moorhouse for possible remains of the medieval settlement. Three well-preserved terraced platforms were located to the south, bisected by a post-medieval field wall. In the field to the east, previously ploughed, the earthworks were barely visible in pasture. Those to the west were very well preserved, standing out from the slope. Fields to the south-west still show well pronounced ridge and furrow, of which the furlong divisions are not respected by the later walled fields.

KIRBY MISPERTON (SE 770792) In advance of possible house construction, R. H. Hayes directed the excavation of a section of street frontage for the Ryedale Council and the D.O.E. An area 40 m long and 6–10 m wide was examined, producing features and finds from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards. In the south-west corner footings of a post-medieval long house with cross passage, 15 m by 6.5 m, were found. Finds included much late pottery, wine bottles, pipes and metalwork. This site was recently levelled. Site 2 lay under 1 m of heavy clay and topsoil. Fourteen post holes from a medieval building of irregular plan were uncovered, dated by pottery to the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Much pottery was recovered, mostly of Staxton type and local gritty wares but also including glazed jugs. A few roofing slates were also found.

LOWER WHITLEY, BRIESTFIELD (SE 228172) The Calder Valley Archaeological Group is engaged upon a long-term field survey of the Bristfield area. Fieldwalking has produced large quantities of locally made gritty wares from which the medieval field system can be deduced.

MARKINGTON WITH WALLERTHWAITE (SE 295649) This extensive deserted medieval village is being surveyed under the direction of Mrs. H. E. Jean Le Patourel as part of an extra-mural class in archaeology.

MUKER, KELD (NY 898011) A possible motte has been identified by T. C. Welsh near Kilden. It is formed from a rocky promontory by a shallow ditch up to 12 m wide; the top area of the motte is 20 m square. A modern enclosure occupies the site.

NORTH DEIGHTON (SE 381509, 381515, 382512, 383509, 384513) R. A. Croft reports finds of medieval pottery while fieldwalking on crop mark sites.

ORMESBY (NZ 53091672) A second excavation and watching brief was carried out by M. M. Brown for Cleveland County in St. Cuthbert's Church before a new floor was inserted in the nave and aisle. A trench adjacent to the north aisle revealed a wall about 1 m wide running east-west, an earlier north wall of the church. It stood one course above the original ground level and its core consisted of re-used tooled stones. Next to the wall and inside the building a drain-like channel was uncovered, approximately 40 cm wide, with neatly tooled cap-stones. Its south side was constructed of re-used stones, some with plaster still adhering. On the north the cap-stones rested on the rebate of the wall. Beneath this were numerous disturbed burials and a potsherd of tenth-eleventh-century date. This channel was seen to run north-south in front of the chancel steps and to the north of the present south wall, where it was independent of the wall structure, suggesting the existence of an earlier south aisle.

PUDSEY, GREENSIDE (SE 218327) Excavation below the clay floor of an early eighteenth-century house produced a small amount of twelfth to fifteenth-century pottery.

SCARBOROUGH, EASTBOROUGH/WEST SANDGATE Excavations on the site of the gatehouse of 1135, the most important seaward entrance, were directed by P. G. Farmer, revealing the foundations of the structure of 1135, three floor levels and one rebuilt on a slightly different line. The earliest structure was roofed with Roman-type clay tiles and in Phase 2 with flat glazed tiles, each with one hole and one lug. By 1500 this structure was demolished and a house was built on the site. The Dam-Geth gutter ran through the excavation and its stone channel had been arched in brick in the nineteenth century. Beneath the medieval structures a series of wet, dark organic layers, probably in the valley of the original stream and dating to the tenth century, contained well-preserved leather, pottery, bone, shells and heather. Sand found at the front of the site showed that the gate complex was near the Quay. The finds are with the excavator.

—, BLANDS CLIFF Excavations on the site of the town ditch of 1135 and of the early Quay were directed by P. G. Farmer. Finds included timber and large quantities of leather. A full report appears in P. G. Farmer, *Scarborough Harbour and Borough from the 10th to the 16th centuries* (Scarborough 1976).

SHELF, HIGH BENTLEY (SE 131286) S. Moorhouse reports that indeterminate earthworks exist north of High Bentley Hall, possibly connected with the substantial medieval settlement of Bentley. The hall itself is unoccupied and in a very dangerous condition.

—, DEANE (SE 131278) The fields around this farm were examined by S. Moorhouse for evidence of the substantial medieval settlement known from documents to have existed here. No finds were made during fieldwalking. No earthworks were recognised in the pasture field to the east.

SHIPLEY, HEATON ROYDS (SE 363134) This site, lying just inside the ancient township boundary of Shipley, was examined by S. Moorhouse for evidence of the medieval settlement of the Royds. To the west of Shay Lane, a surfaced hollow way, and opposite the farm, two terraced platforms were located, with possible enclosures to the west. Immediately north-east of the farm a number of pronounced, though ill-defined, earthworks were identified. Some of these, especially those adjacent to a trackway running north-east, may be platforms, but other features may be the result of mining subsidence.

SKIPTON, SWEEPS YARD (SD 989517) Excavations were carried out on the site of a medieval tenement by D. J. Williams for Craven District Council. A complex of pits dating from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, along with post holes relating to the numerous structures erected over them. Most appear to have been cess pits. Finds, including an iron buckle and a lead weight from the late medieval ground surface, have been deposited in the Craven Museum.

SNAITH AND COWICK (SE 652206) A watching brief undertaken by M. J. Dolby for the D.O.E. during the dredging of the moat of the royal manor constructed to the south of West Cowick in 1323 resulted in the location of the central stone pier and part of the inner abutment of the bridge on the northern stretch of the moat. A sole plate of the bridge, 8.20 m long and 0.45 m by 0.25 m in cross section, containing mortice holes, was recovered near the central pier. Finds, deposited in Doncaster Museum, included parts of three wooden bowls, a mallet with an oak head, a wide range of pottery vessels dating down to the early sixteenth century, including many products of the West Cowick kilns, decorated floor tiles, a key and an arrowhead, both of iron, together with bones of cattle, horse, pig, sheep and red, roe and fallow deer. Samples were taken for environmental analysis and timber sections were obtained for dendrochronology.

STANLEY, ST. SWITHIN'S CHAPEL (SE 34852205) The site of this chantry chapel is being excavated by Mrs. P. Judkin for Wakefield Museum and Wakefield Historical Society, in advance of housing development. The chapel, frequently mentioned from the late thirteenth century, was examined in 1905, when an outline plan was recorded. Re-examination has found the plan to be slightly inaccurate. The building uncovered was 9 m wide, oriented roughly west-east. Truncation by a modern service trench makes it difficult to estimate its length. A foundation trench approx. 1 m wide and 27 m deep had been filled with four alternate layers of packed stones and mixed sand, with traces of mortared rubble wall above. Slight traces of a late partition wall were located, together with an associated clay floor, which overlay an earlier burnt clay floor. There is some evidence of occupation on the site before the chapel was built. Finds include a half groat of Henry VII of 1490-1500 and medieval pottery. Work is to continue.

STAXTON (TA 026794) During the laying of a water main between Staxton and Flixton 70 sherds of coarse pottery were discovered by P. G. Farmer and proved to be of twelfth-century and later date. They are in the finder's possession.

TEMPLE NEWSAM, COLTON (SE 366325) The well-preserved earthworks, identified by R. E. Yarwood in 1975, of the shrunken medieval village of Colton were surveyed as part of a training course run by the Medieval Section of the Y.A.S. A large complex of terraced platforms, enclosures and hollow ways lies immediately south of Park Farm astride the present path into the grounds of Temple Newsam House. Similar, less pronounced, remains lie to the north of these and to the east of Park Road. The earthworks to the east and south of Park Farm are surrounded by the medieval field system, with access to the fields by hollow ways through the village earthworks. A vacant tenement site to the west of Park Road produced a very well-defined raised platform with a small circular feature on its western end and a possible house site on its northern edge. This area also included a series of minor raised platforms, terraced yard areas and a series of long rectangular enclosures running back from the road down the side of a valley which marks the western division between the village and its fields.

—, NEWSAM GREEN (SE 366307) Examination by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit in advance of coal extraction identified earthworks immediately west of Newsam Green Farm. At least two platforms were clearly respected by the well-preserved ridge and furrow to the north of the farm and are probably medieval in date. Other platforms overlying the field system to the west may represent demolished buildings connected with the farm, the buildings of which are basically eighteenth-century in date. Spoil from a pond dumped onto the ridge and furrow has partly obscured the earthworks. The site is possibly the minor settlement of The Green, mentioned in surnames during the fourteenth century.

THORNER, ELTOFTS (SE 36474025) During the removal of a hedge M. J. Ecclestone recovered upwards of 400 sherds, including three glazed sherds, dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The pottery is with the finder.

THORNHILL, THE CROSS (SE 248188) Work on the site of a known seventeenth-century building by the Calder Valley Archaeological Group, directed by P. Webster, revealed evidence of sixteenth-century occupation in the form of Cistercian ware. Earlier levels have now revealed a small iron-working area identified by substantial quantities of slag, but as yet lacking any recognisable furnace or hearth structure. A nearby building was of post construction and had a rammed gravel floor containing both local and non-local pottery types of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Excavation is to continue in 1977 on this site, which shows substantial stratification beneath the twelfth-century levels and may possibly turn out to have a pre-Conquest origin.

THORNTON (SE 103319) Earthworks in an area 200 yards north-west of the farmhouse called Mavis were examined by K. Fairclough and S. Moorhouse. A number of well pronounced terraced platforms, yard areas and enclosures were found on a projecting southern shoulder of the Thornton valley, a typical Pennine valley siting for a medieval settlement. Adjoining fields to the west and east show ridge and furrow, while that to the north was cut through by the now abandoned railway; spoil from the cutting has obscured any pre-existing features. The site adjoins the eastern side of the medieval route from Halifax to Thornton, now, in most parts, a deserted footpath. The earthworks almost certainly represent the minor settlement of Scholes, only mentioned in a thirteenth-century charter (S. Margerison and W. P. Baildon, *Calverley Charters* (Thoresby Soc. 6 (1904), p. 101, no. 122). The name is preserved by the colliery of West Scholes to the south-west. The site is to be surveyed during 1977 by members of the Y.A.S. Medieval Section.

—, HEADLEY (SE 09983221) Earthworks identified to the north-east of Headley Hall by S. Moorhouse were surveyed by members of the Medieval Section of the Y.A.S. Two platforms with adjoining banked enclosures lay on a naturally terraced area of the hillside below the hall and beside Headley Lane, a hollow way as it climbs the hill. The earthworks are surrounded by well defined ridge and furrow, which runs down the slope to the Pinch Beck. Headley was granted to Nostell Priory by the early thirteenth century, but examination of the numerous deeds relating to Headley in the chartulary has failed to identify the earthworks. The fact that ridge and furrow respects the enclosures suggests that the site has a medieval origin, possibly representing a small detached farmstead or barn complex associated with the main settlement at Upper Headley.

THWING, PADDOCK HILL (TA 030707) Activity on the site during the Middle Ages was represented by the cross trenches of a small post mill, the southern arm of which had been located in 1974. The mill had utilised the western rampart of the hill-fort. Each arm of the cross bedding trenches was 5 m long; the mill had been demolished and the timbers pulled up, but packing stones and cavities marked the ends of the sleeper beams. Fragments of millstones of sandstone, a bronze buckle, iron knives and nails, and sherds of Staxton and glazed wares were recovered from the infilling of the mill trenches. This mill can be connected with the nearby village of Octon. Further evidence of activity was indicated by an iron arrowhead, key, hinge and knife blades, Staxton and glazed pottery from the old plough soil layer that covered the interior of the fort, immediately below the modern plough soil and mantling prehistoric features.

TONG (SE 217305) S. Moorhouse reports that the western boundary of the medieval village of Tong still survives as a substantial bank running parallel to the modern fence to Tong Hall, an eighteenth-century building of which the grounds overlie the village site. The boundary is well preserved, with the access route to Home Farm running along its top. Part of the medieval field system survives as well defined ridge and furrow to the west of the boundary, but the post-medieval fields do not respect the earlier furlong divisions.

—, HOLME (SE 198318) Two well defined terraced platforms with adjacent enclosures have been identified by members of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Unit immediately to the north of the farm down the slope of the valley of the Holme Beck. Holme was a minor medieval settlement in Tong township.

—, MAYTHORNE FARM (SE 210311) A series of terraced platforms to the south of and adjoining the Holme Beck have been identified by members of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Unit. At least three possible house sites are visible on the slopes down to the beck, with one platform to the north of the beck. The site is possibly connected with the minor medieval settlement of Scolebrook, the name of a farm immediately north-east of Maythorne.

—, RYECROFT (SE 201305) A number of terraced platforms with adjacent enclosures have been identified in the field to the south-west of Ryecroft Farm, probably part of the minor medieval settlement of Ryecroft.

WEARDLEY, BURDEN HEAD (SE 295437) Fieldwalking by R. A. Croft for the Leeds University Union Archaeological Society was to locate evidence for the medieval settlement. Slight traces of house platforms were visible. The ploughed fields to the east of these yielded several medieval sherds and one Romano-British sherd. The place-name Burden means 'hill with the fortification' and an attempt was made to locate this site. The only possible evidence was a marked bank, revetted in places by gritstone boulders, running along the southern edge of Stubhouse Plantation, almost on the 123 m contour line. The finds are deposited with the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Leeds.

WAKEFIELD, NORTHGATE (SE 331211) See Post-medieval section.

WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858642) The twenty-fifth season of excavation on this site was directed by J. G. Hurst for the Medieval Village Research Group (*Register* 1975, p. 10). A section across the south boundary of the northern manor house showed that it was thirteenth-fourteenth-century in date and was abandoned in the fifteenth century. Twenty five skeletons were excavated in the north end of the churchyard. A number of post holes and a possible prehistoric burial were found. Excavations were continued in the high west part of the mill dam, revealing a series of vertical walls sloping back to the dam. For a fuller report see *Medieval Village Research Group Report* No. 23 (1975), pp. 33-41.

YORK The York Archaeological Trust, under the direction of P. V. Addyman, has carried out a number of excavations and undertaken watching briefs, with the following results.

—, (SE 60575217) A sample area excavation revealed two medieval and post-medieval tenements facing onto *Aldwark* and running back towards the city walls. Narrow timber-framed buildings ran back from the street. Behind these were pits, wells and perhaps some ancillary buildings. At the rear of the city rampart several long, deep, parallel trenches were dug in late medieval times, perhaps for industrial purposes or rubbish disposal. A deep cutting is in progress to investigate the Roman and early medieval history of the area immediately within the Roman fortress defences.

—, (SE 60505209) Excavation on this site, south-west of *The Bedern*, was continued under the supervision of M. Daniells. A bronze foundry, in use from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, was investigated, together with successive tile and stone-built furnaces and hearth bases, accommodated within timber-framed buildings flanking an alley off Goodramgate. The site produced many thousands of clay mould fragments. Nearby, excavation has started near the surviving hall of the College of the Vicars Choral. A substantial stone and brick-built house of the early eighteenth century facing Back Bedern, adjacent medieval and later structures, and nearby gardens are under investigation.

—, (SE 60425168) In *Coppergate* excavation, supervised by R. A. Hall, has revealed traces of four tenements stretching back to the River Foss. Stone structures of medieval date survive in three tenements – preceding structures were of timber. One building, at least 6.5 m by 3 m, has plank walls resting on sill beams, which survive to a height of nearly 1 m. Associated finds, mainly of Scandinavian character, indicate a date in the eleventh century. The sills of a comparable structure also survive. Between these structures a channel filled with rich organic material produced waste products from the manufacture of lathe-turned wooden bowls.

—, (SE 60325109) In *Clementhorpe* there was some evidence for a large early medieval structure associated with numerous oriented mixed inhumations and thus possibly St. Clement's Church. Various buildings of the nunnery of St. Clement were also found, some with tiled floors. In the sixteenth century the site was occupied by batteries of lime kilns, one now lifted for display in the Castle Museum.

POST-MEDIEVAL

ALLERTON MAULEVERER, ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH (SE 416579) See Medieval section.

BARWICK IN ELMET, LAZENCROFT (SE 382345) See Medieval section.

—, SHIPPEN (SE 389345) See Medieval section.

BRIDLINGTON, NEW PASTURE LANE (TA 176681) J. R. Earnshaw reports that a clay pipemaker's dump was exposed during building work. Thirteen patterns of moulded decoration on the bowls was collected, with the stamp of J. Lakes, Bridlington, of c. 1850. The finds are in Sewerby Hall Museum.

CLAYTON WEST (SE 274117) A two-bay house of late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century date at Litherop Farm was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmores for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. The original plan probably consisted of a house-place and parlour on the ground floor with two upper rooms used as workrooms or for storage. Soot staining on the southern gable wall suggests that the house-place may originally have been heated by means of a timber smoke-hood. The roof was subsequently raised, probably in the late eighteenth century, and the house was enlarged in the nineteenth century by an additional bay to the south and an outshot to the west.

DARRINGTON (SE 488212, 494179) Post-medieval pottery was found by R. A. Croft.

DENBY (SE 248079) The cruck-framed barn at Nether End Farm (N. W. Alcock, *A Catalogue of Cruck Buildings* (1973), p. 66) was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmores for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. The building is three bays long with three open trusses and a closed truss at the northern end. Three mortices on the underside of the upper collar in this truss indicate that the barn was originally timber-framed; the date-stone of 1663 in the north gable probably refers to the date when it was encased in stone. No truss survives at the southern end, and it has possibly been shortened by one bay. Lower collars were originally present in the closed truss and the two flanking the entrance bay but the remaining open truss has an upper collar only. The reverse curve of the wind-braces suggests a sixteenth-century date for the barn.

EASINGTON, BOULBY ALUM WORKS (NZ 752197) Further work was carried out on the New Works site during 1976 under the direction of S. K. Chapman. The clearance was begun of a large rectangular building, believed to be a pump house needed for transferring water to the steeping pit a few yards to the north. Construction is of the usual sandstone slabs for floors and walls, apparently about 1 m thick. Slots for supporting structures were discovered in the floor and outlets have been found in the north and east walls.

EDLINGTON (SK 533973) An examination of the site of the Hall by P. C. Buckland for Doncaster Excavation Committee and the D.O.E. showed it to have been destroyed by closely spaced unrecorded modern graves. A scatter of building debris confirmed this as the site of the Tudor/Jacobean house of the Stanhopes.

ELLAND (SE 106214) D. J. H. Michelmores and R. Harris recorded the standing structure of Elland Hall for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit prior to its destruction in advance of a road scheme. The timber frame of a three-bay solar wing was dismantled for possible re-erection. It was a two-storey structure with cusped braces from principal posts to tie beam and originally had a crown-post roof. The surviving timbers of a mid-sixteenth-century two-bay hall to the west of this wing were also dismantled, many of them re-used from an earlier aisled hall with a waggon roof incorporating passing braces. Soot staining on the re-used rafters indicated that they had come from a building with an open hearth. The hall wing was two-storeyed with a large chamber on each floor, each heated by an inserted seventeenth-century fireplace. The roof consisted of common rafters with single side purlins supported on raked queen struts. A three-bay stone-walled wing had been added to the east of the solar wing in the late seventeenth century and the timber-framed sections of the building had been cased in stone in the early nineteenth century.

Excavation revealed the site of a kitchen complex and a number of ovens under the seventeenth-century wing and to the west the postholes of a large aisled hall 12 m wide and apparently 14.5 m long. The absence of internal postholes suggested that the aisle posts of the internal trusses stood on stylobates. To the west of the hall a corn-drying kiln and what was probably a three-bay cruck-framed barn were revealed, and the earthworks of a post-medieval garden to the east of the site were surveyed.

ESHOLT (SE 182401) The central portion of Esholt Old Hall was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmore for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. The building is of three phases; the first phase was an aisled house of late medieval date, cut short and extended to the north in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. This extension is on the same alignment as the first phase but with a wider span. The absence of peg-holes in the arcade plate suggests that it was also an aisled structure. A single truss with 'V' studding is visible in the roof. The third phase involved the re-alignment of the second-phase structure into the present stone cross-wing, the axis of which is at right-angles to the previous phases. These final alterations probably date to the mid-seventeenth century. The house is surrounded on the western and eastern sides by a substantial moat.

FELKIRK See Medieval section.

FILEY See Medieval section.

FIMBER (SE 90476247-90976284) H. G. Ramm reports that earthworks now only surviving as crop marks, regarded by Mortimer as dikes, have been identified by the R.C.H.M., York, as strip divisions of leas or arable land left fallow for a number of years as pasture (C. C. Taylor, *Fields in the English Landscape* (1975), p. 20). They are referred to in a document of 1655 as 'fall of leas' and placed as High and Low Leas on King's map of 1772. The earthworks define two strips 60 m and 50 m wide. Two additional strips, 70 m wide, are noted from air photographs as SE 90696231-90906255.

GRINTON, LOW HOUSES (SD 983970) T. C. Welsh has identified a sloping oval platform 36 m by 22 m, onto which has been built a two-roomed foundation 10 m by 6.5 m. At SD 981971 are three small dams and the remains of a small mill.

—, SUMMER LODGE BECK (SD 969961) A substantial dam beside the stream has been located by T. C. Welsh. It is 9.5 m thick at the base and up to 2 m high to the outside, forming a sub-circular pond, now dry, up to 36 m across. Iron fixtures for a sluice gate and an outlet at the base of the dam were noted. This may be the site of a fulling mill referred to in local literature.

HALIFAX (SE 09502533) J. A. Gilks reports that G. Chambers, for the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, continued clearing the well in the courtyard of House X in Woolshops (*Register* 1975, p. 11). Much locally produced pottery of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century date was recovered from a filling of brown soil, plaster and broken bricks. There were also a few residual sherds from at least three fifteenth-century glazed pitchers.

HEALAUGH, CALVER HILL (NZ 009000) A mound of pure wood charcoal was located by T. C. Welsh. It appears to be contained within a wall, 27 m by 12 m, and may indicate the site of an early lead smelter.

HUDDERSFIELD (SE 149165) The stone canal warehouse was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmore for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. This four-storey, seven-bay building dates to the late eighteenth century and has a roof showing a fusion of copy-book carpentry and vernacular building traditions. A standard queen-post roof has been adapted to provide additional headroom: the tie beams are not associated with the wall-plates but set some distance down from the top of the walls. The principal rafters rest on the wall-plates and connect with the tie beams by vertical ashlar pieces. The ties between the wall-plates and queen-posts have braces to the ashlar pieces. The collars support diminutive braced king-posts, and the roof forms a raised aisled structure supported on the tie beams, which also act as principal joists for the third floor.

HULL, HENRICIAN DEFENCES (TA 10382853) Part of Henry VIII's defences to the east of the River Hull were investigated by the Hull Excavation Unit, directed by Ben Whitwell, because they are to be destroyed by the new South Orbital/South Docks road. The curtain wall of brick, founded on chalk blocks, though said to have been totally destroyed by the construction of the nineteenth-century docks, survived to a height of 2.5 m and to a width of 2 m underneath a thick spread of clay presumably deposited over the area during the digging of Victoria Dock.

The middle one of the three blockhouses of the Henrician defences, the so-called Hull Castle, was further investigated at the request of the D.O.E. to clarify points following the previous excavation there (*Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 5 (1971), pp. 198-200). The interior of the eastern beaked bastion was located, together with the imposts of the southern gateway into the inner courtyard. The overall east-west measurement across the bastions was estimated to be 70 m, and the fine sixteenth-century brickwork again survived, to a height of 1.5 m.

KIRBY MISPERTON (SE 770792) See Medieval section.

KNOTTINGLEY (SE 512240) Mrs. P. Judkin reports the finding of a cast iron shot, 7.6 cm in diameter and weighing 3 lb. 4 oz., probably seventeenth-century in date for use in a minion. It is in the finder's possession.

LIVERSEDGE (SE 195238) Middle Hall, Hightown, was examined by D. J. H. Michelmore for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. It is a building of two periods, of which the earlier is represented by a three-bay timber-framed range with its southern gable facing the road. The two central trusses in this range originally had king posts with vertical studs on either side, a form of roof which appears to date to the sixteenth century. Both trusses were formerly closed. There were mortices for braces to the wall posts on the underside of the tie beams. The house had been enlarged by a two-bay wing, probably dated 1636 by a date-stone said to exist under the rendering. This wing had an outshot to the rear supported by a timber arcade separating it from the two-storey 'nave'. The absence of peg-holes indicates that 'nave' and outshot were not divided by a timber-framed partition along the line of the arcade, but the present stone dividing wall may hide the mortices of an unpegged partition. The truss in this wing is similar in form to the original form of those in the earlier range.

NORTH DEIGHTON (SE 384513) R. A. Croft reports finds of post-medieval pottery, including clay pipes and a small kiln trivet 1.5 cm in diameter.

NORTHOWRAM (SE 103263) J. A. Gilks and G. Chambers, for the Tolson Memorial Museum, recorded the remains of a three-bay house of the late fifteenth century revealed during the renovation of Shibden Fold. Sections of only two bays survive; the side walls, between the middle rail and wall plate, are herring-bone studded, while below vertical studding was employed. The north-western bay had ground floor and first floor rooms, the latter with a window in the south-east wall. The second and third bays were open to the roof and there was an open hearth in the centre of the second bay. The roof was of typical king-post type, the ridge piece being square-set with curved braces from king post to ridge. The house was encased in stone in the seventeenth century and enlarged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

PUDSEY, GREENSIDE (SE 218327) An early eighteenth-century house at 42-44 Greenside was recorded and excavated by members of the Pudsey and District Archaeological Society, directed by A. McDermid. This house, bearing a date stone of 1713, has in the west gable fragmentary remains of a truss from a late medieval timber-framed house. Evidence suggests that the eighteenth-century house follows the basic plan of a single-aisled timber building. Excavation of most of the interior of No. 42 revealed a brick and clay floor beneath the later flagstones. The stylobates for the timber house were located, standing on the clay floor.

QUARMBY (SE 114173) The western half of Quarmby Hall was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmore. A cross-wing, of which the upper storey is timber-framed, has a closed truss at its western end with 'A' studding in the gable and 'V' studding below the tie-beam. This wing is of late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century date. It was extended westwards by another bay during the post-medieval period. The original hall probably occupied the position of the present seventeenth-century hall, which retains the rail of its original firehood and a roof of false aisled construction, in which the feet of the 'aisle posts' stand on the principal joists. The building is to be recorded by the Y.A.S. Medieval Section; the eastern half, in separate occupation, has not been examined.

SCARBOROUGH, EASTBOROUGH/WEST SANDGATE See Medieval section.

SHEFFIELD, BISHOPS' HOUSE (SK 354839) Dendrochronological analysis of oak timbers from three different phases was carried out by Mrs. R. Morgan of the Dept. of Prehistory, University of Sheffield. Due to loss of the outer sapwood the felling dates could not be accurately estimated, but analysis suggests dates of *post* 1470 for a floor of the original hall house, of *post* 1570 for the early seventeenth-century inserted floor, and *post* 1615 for the panelling of the stone-built west wing (*post* Civil War). Dating of the growth pattern between 1359 and 1591 was achieved by comparison with a growth curve for building timbers in the West Midlands.

—, SHEFFIELD MANOR (SK 375856) The eighth season of excavation, directed by Miss P. Beswick for Sheffield City Museum, uncovered substantial additional evidence for the original plan of this ruined sixteenth-century manor house (*Register* 1974, p. 9). Two additional rooms were uncovered to the south of the main entrance in the west wing. A new wing crossing the inner court was partially located, including a room with a fireplace in the north wall. Under the mortared masonry of this wing were traces of earlier stone footings on different alignments. A trial trench to check for an extension to the east wing located walls of different phases, but associated levels had been removed by eighteenth and nineteenth-century drains and garden plots. It is planned to continue work in 1977.

SHIPLEY, NETHERWOOD FARM (SE 123369) An aisled barn was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmore for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. In its first phase it had consisted of three bays with two trusses with a diagonally-set ridge. The aisle roofs lacked principal rafters, the purlins being supported on raked struts. The reverse curve of the braces and the heavy but uneven timbering indicate a seventeenth-century date. The barn was subsequently extended by three bays and then by a fourth bay to the north, probably in the eighteenth century.

SKELMANTHORPE (SE 233106) A three-bay, cruck-framed barn in Lodge Street was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmore. The central bay is flanked by two substantial trusses. At the apex the cruck blades meet in a vertical line supporting a trenched, diagonally set ridge; a collar is also present. The stone walls are of nineteenth and twentieth-century date and the roof over the end bays has been rebuilt.

SKIRCOAT, BANK HOUSE HALL (SE 096227) A two-bay, single-aisled hall of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmore. A coved canopy survives *in situ* at the upper end of the hall and mortices in the aisle posts indicate the former presence of a low screen flanking the dais. A seating in the aisle post of the central truss was for a rail, perhaps supporting a partition between the hall and a former fire bay. The stone wall flanking the entrance passage, probably originally a cross passage, may be a reredos against which the fire was built. The hall contains a timber smoke hood with a stone fireplace, probably of the early eighteenth century, built within it. The original service bay(s) to the south have been replaced by a seventeenth-century wing on the same axis as the hall. A surviving length of ridge at the southern end proves that the original solar occupied a bay on the same axis as the hall, replaced by the present seventeenth-century cross-wing. Seventeenth-century windows in the eastern gable of the cross-wing do not belong to this house but were inserted in 1976. It is proposed to record this house in detail.

THORNHILL, THE CROSS (SE 248188) See Medieval section.

THORNTON, KIPPING (SE 098326) The aisled barn was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmore. It had originally been double-aisled and of five bays with an upper roof of copy-book braced king-post form. The original building appears to date from the second half of the eighteenth century; subsequent alterations included the addition of a sixth bay at the northern end and the replacement of the aisle posts flanking the entrance bay by spur walls.

WAKEFIELD, NORTHGATE (SE 331211) Mrs. P. Judkin reports that drain trenches on the east side of Northgate cut through brick buildings, partly cellared at the front, overlying three stone-lined wells. Pottery was mainly eighteenth-century and later in date, apart from one late medieval sherd. The finds are deposited in Wakefield Art Gallery and Museum.

WARLEY, WEST FIELD (SE 047247) This large stone house, superficially of seventeenth-century date but concealing several building phases, was inspected by D. J. H. Michelmore. Two bays survive of a timber-framed range, probably dating to the late fifteenth century. The south-western bay had been demolished, probably in the sixteenth century, when a five-bay range with rubble walls was built at right-angles to the earlier range. The angles between the two were filled in during the seventeenth century to create what were probably three-gabled facades on the south-east and north-west sides. The building contains a number of fine seventeenth-century stone fireplaces, but scarf joints in the principal joists suggest that heating was originally by means of two timber smoke hoods. In the nineteenth century the north-east side of the house was partly rebuilt and a small wing was added at right-angles to the main block at the north-west corner.

WOTHERSOME (SE 40044214) During fieldwalking M. J. Ecclestone recovered 80 sherds of sixteenth-century pottery, mainly Cistercian ware, from an area 40 m across. There was a small sherd from a Raeren stoneware jug of early sixteenth-century German manufacture.

YORK, THE BEDERN See Medieval section.

MISCELLANEOUS

BOWES (NY 901121) C. J. Dunn reports that at the bottom of a steep cliff south of Rey Cross stony banks represent a linear settlement of small enclosures and hut circles, perhaps of Romano-British date. On Bowes Moor 500 m to the north-east a small oval enclosure with an entrance on the south has been partly destroyed by a former quarry.

CASTLEFORD, TOWNVILLE (SE 415248) Mrs. P. Judkin reports that workmen carrying out minor roadworks reported cutting through several features containing quantities of bone a little over 1 m below the present road surface. Two rim sherds of first-second-century mortarium were recovered from the same trench and are deposited with Wakefield Art Gallery and Museum.

COLLINGHAM A systematic fieldwalking survey of the township was resumed in November 1976 under the direction of Mrs. H. E. Jean Le Patourel.

FEATHERSTONE (SE 425220) Mrs. P. Judkin reports that minor roadworks broke into a rock-cut tunnel running west at right-angles to the road for some 9 m. The tunnel was 45 cm high and 1 m wide with a channel 20–25 cm deep running down the centre of the floor. Silt in this contained fragments of nineteenth-century pottery and clay pipes.

GRINTON, WINDY HOUSES (SD 987977) T. C. Welsh has identified an enclosed homestead built out of the slope, comprising three terraces, one above the other. The largest is 27 m by 6 m, contained within a broad bank. A similar site was observed at Riddings, Healaugh (SE 022922).

HEALAUGH (SE 013987) A mound 12–13 m in diameter and over 1 m high, set on an eminence at 214 m O.D. and divided by a field wall, was observed by T. C. Welsh.

—, CLEASBY (SE 003999) An incomplete oval enclosure, 17 m by 32 m, within a stony bank 4–5 m broad and 0.5–1 m high, has been located by T. C. Welsh.

PONTEFRAC (SE 468228) E. Houlder reports that during operations to culvert a stream an ancient road surface was discovered, lying on a foundation of clay about 1 m thick. Its line appeared to be slightly west of north, aligned on the Aire crossing at Ferry Fryston. No dating evidence was found and the details are deposited with the Pontefract and District Archaeological Society.

ROUNDHAY, GIPTON WOOD (SE 326366) R. E. Yarwood has located a four-sided banked and ditched enclosure of unknown date. It is to be surveyed.

SHEFFIELD T. C. Welsh has identified the following sites within the city boundary.

—, ASH CABIN FLAT (SK 269862) A circular area 55 m across within a shallow ditch, possibly with an inner bank.

—, BURBAGE BROOK (SK 260809) A D-shaped enclosure against the edge of crags was 23 m by 14 m at its widest, within a bank 4 m thick and with at least two huts, 4 m and 5 m across, contiguous inside the bank.

—, —, (SK 261809) A settlement comprising two crude long-houses and one square building, had been excavated from the drift and partly defined by upcast banks, with associated structures.

—, BURBAGE MOOR (SK 273812) Two small cairns and to the west in a line between them sections of the camber of a road were seen. At SK 277823 were scattered hut foundations similar to those on Houndkirk Moor.

—, HOUNDKIRK MOOR (SK 276816) Overlain by a modern rectangular enclosure below Houndkirk Road is a group of enclosures formed by shallow ditches with external upcast turf banks. They are respectively internally *c.* 30 m square with four divisions, rectangular 14 m by 38 m, and trapezoidal 38 m by 14 m.

—, — (SK 281814) A settlement on a north-west facing edge continuing east from a line of crags includes a cluster of small rooms round a small eminence, overall 15 m by 12.5 m. A number of circular and sub-rectangular huts were noted, 7 m to 9 m over walls 1.5–2 m thick, cleared areas and walling. On low ground to the north and north-west several similar huts were noted, while along crags to the south-west were squarish structures and features suggesting wells. Several foundations were noted around the tor.

—, HOUNDKIRK TOR (SK 284817) Possible remains of a rubble wall have been noted on the south-east slopes of the hill, following the line of a natural break in the slope. This appears to form an enclosure with the crags on the north, north-east and north-west. Below the crags on those sides are large numbers of small squarish platforms, either excavated out of the slope or constructed among large rocks, and sometimes further defined by edge-placed slabs or banks or rubble.

—, LENNY HILL (SK 290804) Remains were seen, perhaps of a cairn 35 m in diameter. At SK 291806 were traces of a possible enclosure on the slope.

STAXTON (TA 023795) During the laying of a water main a section was cut through a V-shaped ditch running roughly north-south. The ditch was 1.9 m across at the top and 1.10 m deep. The lower fill of wind-blown sand was overlaid by dark sandy loam with chalk fragments. No finds were made during observation by P. G. Farmer.

AIR RECONNAISSANCE IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN YORKSHIRE IN 1976

BY D. N. RILEY

I INTRODUCTION

The exceptionally dry summer of 1976 produced very good conditions for archaeological air photography of cropmarks in Yorkshire and it is therefore fortunate that many of the important parts of the county were watched from the air by a programme of flying and photography much more thorough than that of the previous year. This report covers work in the Vale of York, including its northern extension the Vale of Mowbray, and the country to the south and west.

Many sites of the greatest interest were flown over and photographed in the country known from previous experience to have subsoil favourable to the development of cropmarks, and new areas were also found, notably the land on the coal measures between Leeds and Sheffield. In many cases the detail and clarity of the marks were much better than usual, but the effects of the drought were not wholly advantageous to the archaeologist in the air, and it was noticed that marks in green corn faded out very quickly after mid July and were not often succeeded by the 'crop reversal' marks in ripe corn (yellow lines where the crop is denser), which normally prolong the time available for air reconnaissance.

The areas surveyed in 1976 are summarised by a map (Fig. 1), on which a dot is placed in each 1 km national grid square where one or more cropmarks was photographed. The resulting distribution pattern is much the same as that for 1971 to 1974 photographs given on a previous occasion (*Y.A.J.*, 47 (1975), p. 12), except that this map does not include any work on the Wolds, and covers a new field on the coal measures.

The map also attempts to show negative results, by giving the approximate track of the aircraft during flights over country where cropmarks were not seen on days when they were well developed in areas not far away. As in previous years, nothing was recorded during several flights over the low lying country near the rivers Ouse and Trent, where they approach the Humber, and this was no surprise, but it was disappointing to be unable to locate new areas in the course of some long flights near Northallerton and Thirsk, where the geological map suggests that conditions should be favourable.

The results given in this report were recorded by a large number of photographs taken at many widely separated locations, and 1976 was no exception to the rule that plans revealed by cropmarks are often uneven and incomplete, due to such factors as different crops, dates of sowing and subsoils. It is not possible here to describe much of this detail, and the report therefore covers only the more important new items of information.

II COUNTRY EAST AND SOUTH OF DONCASTER

South of Doncaster there were again many traces of the extensive system of field boundaries at Rossington which was photographed in 1975 and previous years (*Y.A.J.*, 48 (1976), pp. 15, 16). The plan has been described as a 'brickwork pattern', since many parallel boundaries divide the land into long strips, which are cut into rectangles by short cross boundaries. This system ran southwards from Rossington for as much as 23 km, but most of it was in Nottinghamshire, as the southern boundary of Rossington parish is also

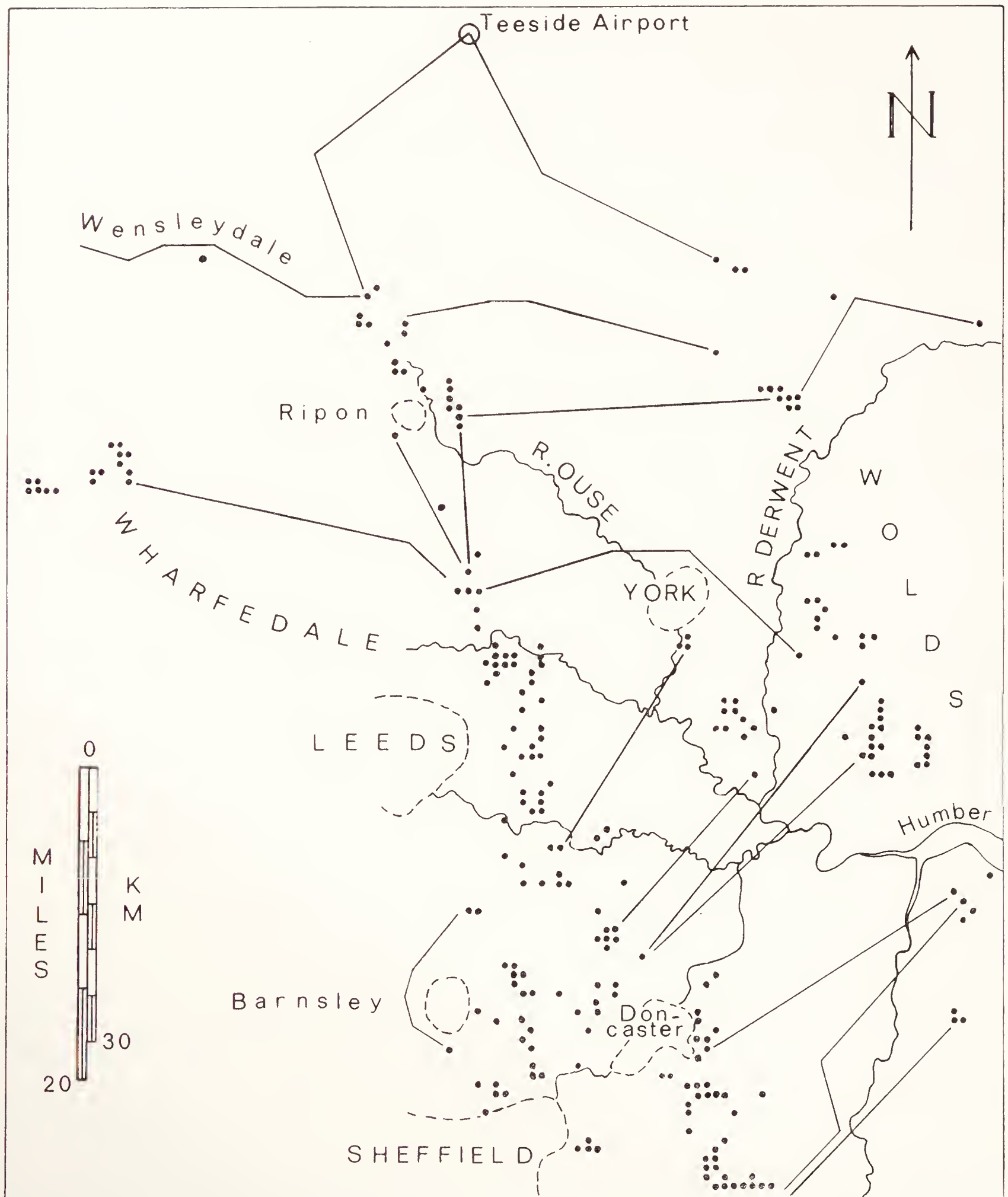


FIG. 1. Areas surveyed. A dot is placed in each 1 km national grid square where cropmarks were surveyed in 1976, and the tracks of unproductive flights are shown by a continuous line.

the county boundary between South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. A search was made in 1976 for a northwards extension in Yorkshire, and new areas of fields of this type were found, but they were on nothing like the scale of those in Nottinghamshire, although it cannot yet be concluded that more extensive cropmarks will not appear in a future year.

There is now some evidence of date for this system of land division. Excavations carried out by Nottingham University in November 1976 at three sites in North Nottinghamshire produced Roman pottery, in each case from the ditches of enclosures.

Austerfield

SK 642975 to 656968. About 200 acres of land immediately south-west of Finningley airfield were covered with

'brickwork pattern' fields, though they were rather less regular than the fields photographed in 1975 in Rossington parish, a short distance to the west. At SK 642975 and 653968 square enclosures of about 4000 sq. m were linked to the system of fields.

Edenthorpe

Another patch of the same type of fields on about 100 acres of land centred on SK 627065 was of some interest because it lay 8 km north of Rossington.

Loversall

On the low lying Loversall and Potteric Carrs at SK 590993 were fields planned differently and in a less regular manner (Fig. 2). To the north was part of a large oval enclosure perhaps over 15,000 sq. m in size, with an annexe of about 6000 sq. m. Inside the large oval was a small circle, about 25 m dia.

Hatfield

SE 641101. To the west of the town was a large rectangle divided into compartments and with field boundaries running off in various directions. This appeared to be an occupation site and may be compared with similar sites near Skipwith and Holme on Spalding Moor, described below.

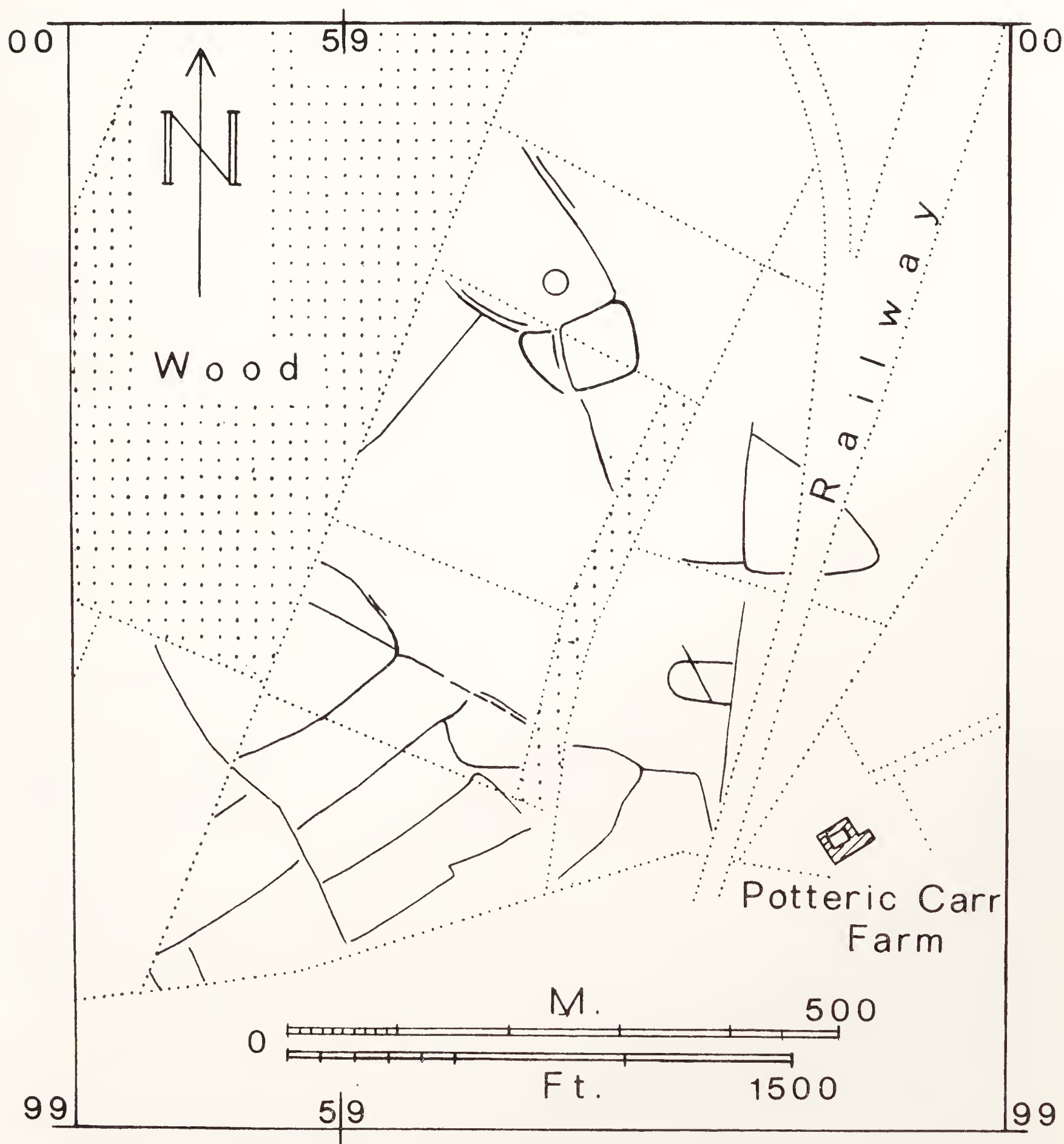


FIG. 2. Map of cropmarks (shown by continuous lines) on Potteric Carr, in the parish of Loversall, south of Doncaster. Modern boundaries are shown by dotted lines.

III MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE COUNTRY NORTH OF DONCASTER AND EAST OF LEEDS

North Deighton and Kirk Deighton

SE 383499 to 383511. The early site first photographed in 1974 (*Y.A.J.*, 47 (1975), p. 13 and fig. 3) was found in 1976 to extend, as expected, over a wider area. A plan has been drawn (Fig. 3), using the evidence supplied by photographs taken on several visits, including a late flight on August 19th, when some very clear marks in sugar beet gave details of a key area.

Rectangular fields cover much of the ground, but three places may have been occupation sites, because small circles of 15 to 20 m diam. probably indicate hut positions. The general plan has a certain similarity with that of the field systems and settlement sites to the west on the carboniferous limestone uplands at, for example, Grassington.

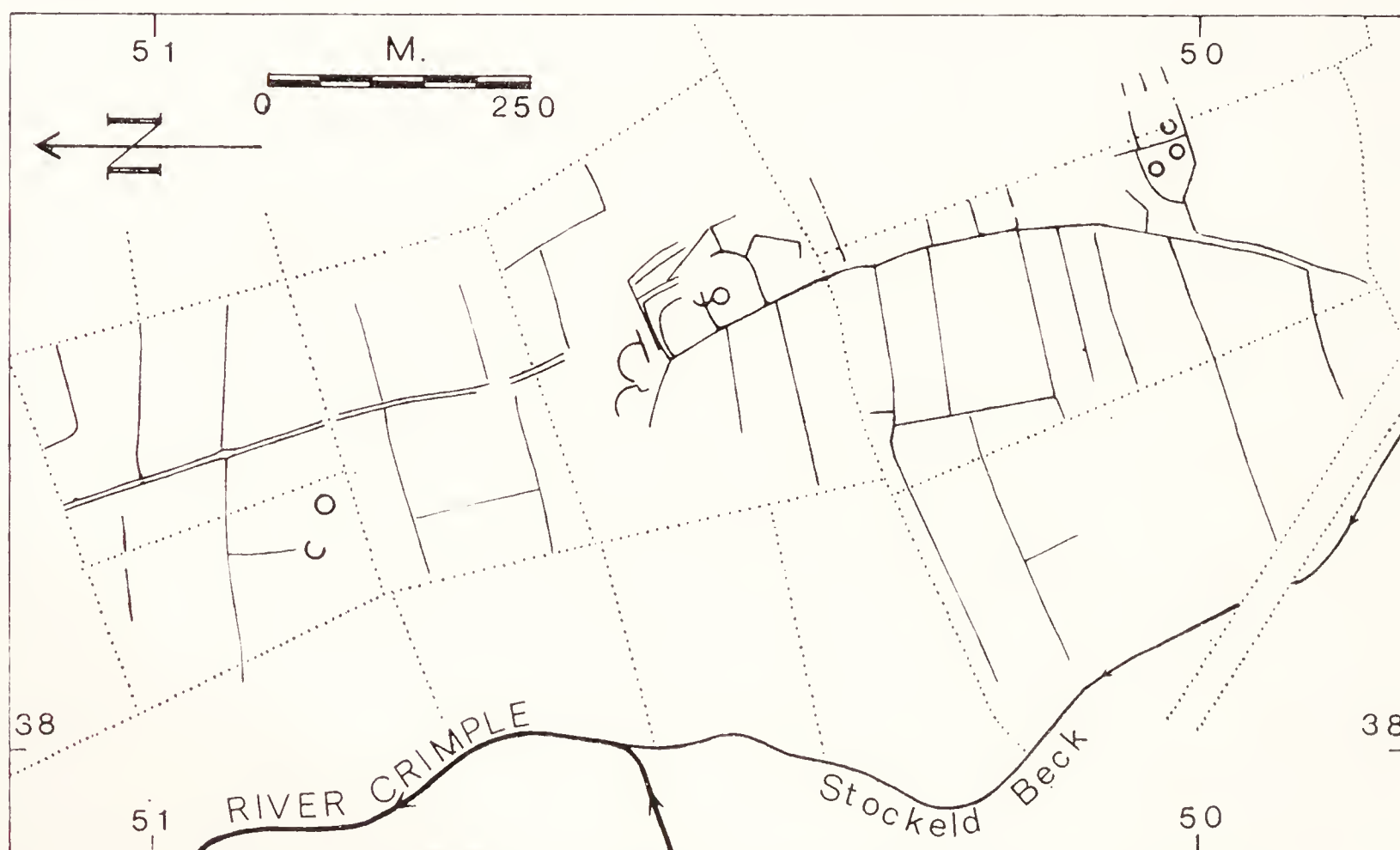


FIG. 3. Map of cropmarks at North Deighton and Kirk Deighton, south-east of Harrogate.

Collingham, Wetherby and Boston Spa.

The Dalton Parlours villa site has been watched for several years without result, but there were interesting cropmarks in places not far distant.

SE 398444. A large rectangular enclosure (in size about 5000 sq. m) showed prominently. It was crossed by a probable lane, evidently of different date, and field boundaries were also seen, though indistinctly (Fig. 7).

SE 407458. Some interesting photographs were taken in 1972 and 1974 near the junction of the Great North Road and the Collingham to Boston Spa road, and the same cropmarks showed again in early July with unusual clarity (Fig. 8). A series of small sub-rectangular enclosures, most of which were about 2000 sq. m in size, stretched for about 400 m to the north-west of the road junction, and the marks of lanes and field boundaries appeared to the south-east for a distance of a kilometre.

Ledston, Ledsham and Fairburn

On most of the Magnesian limestone country cropmarks are scattered and fragmentary, but near Ledston, following the 1975 discovery of a large patch of particularly detailed cropmarks (*Y.A.J.*, 48 (1976), p. 14), sketched on Fig. 4 at site A, it was hoped that the next dry summer would enable many of the gaps to be filled and a large scale plan produced. This did not happen in 1976 and is now improbable. It is therefore opportune to review the evidence which has been collected by several years' observation, since it seems unlikely to be added to greatly.

SE 436301 to 434295 (A on Fig. 4). The fields, small enclosures, and three lanes converging on a cluster of pits, showed very well again in 1976. After the harvest, excavations by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit in association with Leeds University produced evidence of early Iron Age date, and this is the first important cropmark site on the Magnesian limestone to be dated (above p. 2).

SE 438304 (B on Fig. 4). Near Sheepcote Farm a further group of enclosures, fields and a lane have been noticed for several summers.

In the central part of the map the absence of cropmarks may perhaps be explained by the two large patches of middle Permian marl, a formation which separates the upper and lower Magnesian limestone. To the east of the

map, however, the limestone outcrops again and here further cropmarks have been photographed.

SE 459301 (C on Fig. 4). North of Ledsham village, field boundaries and a lane.

SE 458292 (D on Fig. 4). South of the same village, fields and a rectangular enclosure of perhaps 3000 sq. m.

SE 455284 (E on Fig. 4). North-west of Beckfield House, Fairburn, a lane, which at one point skirted an enclosure of about 2000 sq. m.

The south of the map is confused by what look much like the cropmarks of quite recent field boundaries (G on Fig. 4), but at the following places the remains appear to be ancient.

SE 449285 (F on Fig. 4). West of Newfield Farm, Ledsham, a rectangular enclosure of about 3000 sq. m, a lane and field boundaries.

SE 441287 (H on Fig. 4). To the east of Ledston village, a rectangular enclosure about 3000 sq. m in size, apparently containing a few pits (1974 photograph).

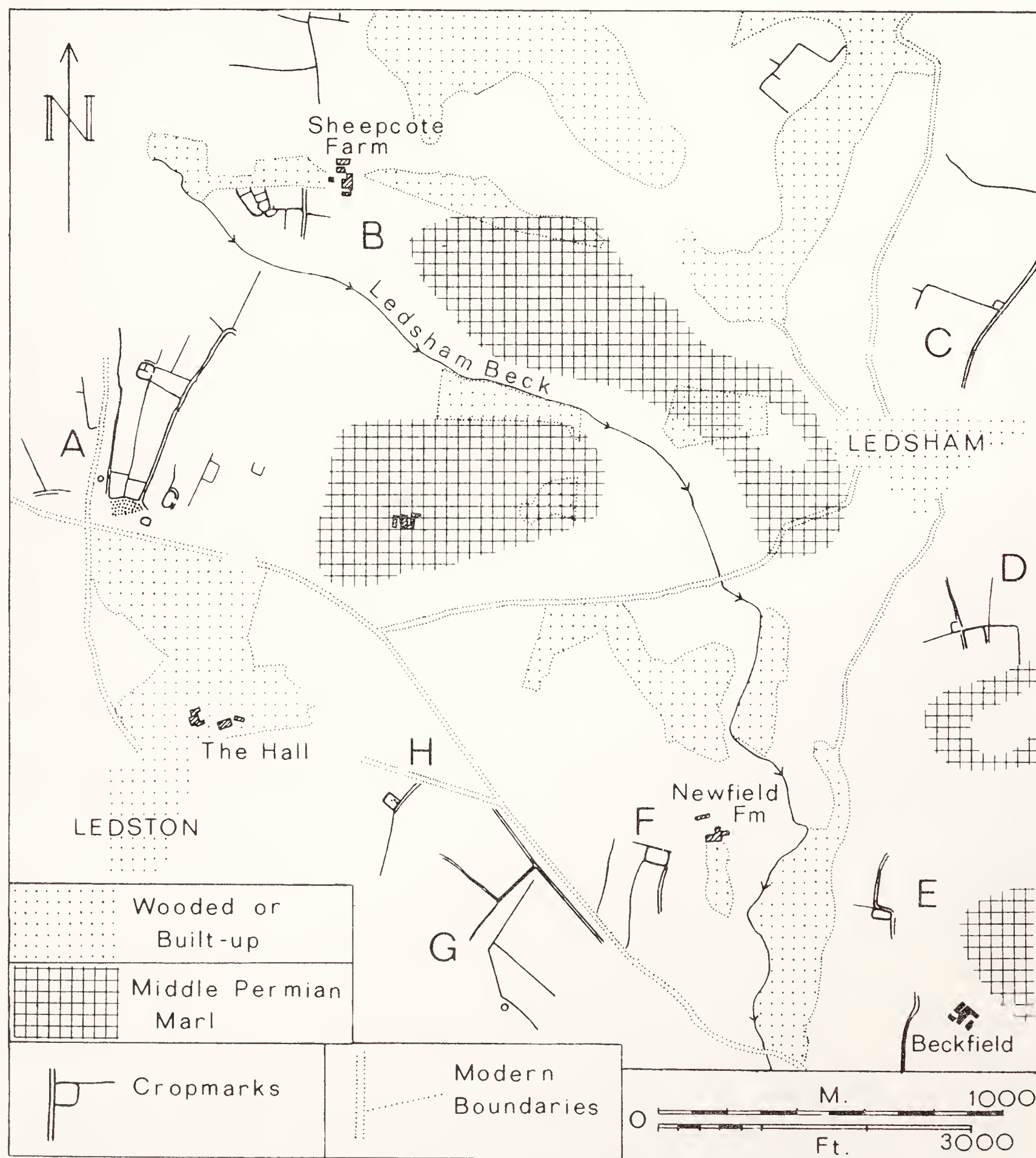


FIG. 4. Map of cropmarks in the parishes of Ledston, Ledsham and Fairburn, east of Leeds.

Micklefield

There was much of interest here and in the surrounding parishes, where there were many scattered places with cropmarks, but space does not permit details to be given, except to mention an extensive group of enclosures at SE 443349, which was photographed on June 13th 1976, a relatively early date.

Knottingley

SE 475243. The henge, first seen as a soil mark on an Ordnance Survey photograph (*Antiquity*, 40, (1966), p. 145), has never in the writer's experience produced good cropmarks, and was again indistinct. To the west of the henge three circles were re-photographed; it was estimated that the diameters were about 40 m, 25 m and 12 m (previously reported *Y.A.J.*, 45 (1973), p. 213).

Norton

In spite of the fact that this parish has been flown over for several years by the writer, three previously unrecorded enclosures were found in 1976, all isolated and approximating to a square shape. The map references and areas were SE 533139, about 1000 sq. m; 533144, about 5000 sq. m; 526157, about 3500 sq. m.

Hampole and Adwick le Street

At various places near the Red House Roundabout on the Great North Road remains of early field systems were quite extensive. At SE 519097 and 531099 were the most interesting areas, which showed field boundaries, apparently in a 'brickwork' pattern on two small pieces of ground, both about 400 m across. This type of field layout is referred to above, when describing the country east and south of Doncaster.

IV

COAL MEASURES BETWEEN SHEFFIELD AND LEEDS

The way in which cropmarks show ancient sites at intervals over much of the Magnesian limestone belt of South and West Yorkshire has for some time made it seem likely that similar remains might be present on the coal measures to the west, but in previous years the writer has been reluctant to expend limited flying resources on the examination of this formation, which was thought to be less suitable for the development of cropmarks. In 1976, with more flying time available, it was suggested that attention should be given to the coal measures, and several sorties were made over the Dearne valley and the surrounding land. Initially nothing was seen, but on 4 July a few cropmarks appeared at Wath on Dearne, and on 10 and 11 July they were visible at many places. By 17 July they had largely faded out again. Whether such results can only be obtained in unusually dry summers, will be shown by the continued watch which should be kept on the district in the month of July in the future, because it may be assumed that there is much more still to be found.

The following table gives a brief summary of the information recorded by the camera. Most of the sites were of the type described by that over-worked term, enclosure, and in a number of places there were also traces of systems of large rectangular fields, shown by their boundary ditches, and of lanes, shown by the ditch dug on each side and sometimes also by their central rut.

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Map Ref.</i>	
Rothwell	SE 415272	Small rectangular enclosure and fields.
Ackton	SE 418232	Rectangular enclosure at junction of two lanes.
Pontefract	SE 432220	Short length of the Doncaster to Castleford Roman road (noted by E. Houlder).
„	SE 450207	At edge of modern housing was a large rectangular enclosure, a lane, and perhaps other enclosures.
Featherstone	SE 436204	Enclosure of irregular shape.
Crofton	SE 380170	Large rectangular enclosure with subdivision. Other enclosures, details not clear. Fields.
Brierley	SE 419117	D-shaped enclosure.
„	SE 425111	Round enclosure.
„	SE 422110	Curvilinear enclosure.
„	SE 424104	Part of sub-rectangular enclosure.
„	SE 422093	Small D-shaped enclosure, near Hall Steads moat, which is now under cultivation and forms a cropmark.
South Kirkby	SE 429110	Double ditched enclosure, very neatly laid out.
Clayton	SE 441086	Several adjacent irregular enclosures. Fields.
Great Houghton	SE 430081	Small round enclosure, within much larger outer ring, only part of which showed.
„	SE 433081	Round enclosure.

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Map Ref.</i>	
Barnsley	SE 386065	Rectangular enclosure, only faintly seen.
Billingley	SE 438051	Two enclosures, one rectangular, the other irregular. Fields.
„	SE 442046	Complex of rectangular and D-shaped enclosures. Fields.
Darfield	SE 405059	Irregularly shaped enclosure, divided into two parts.
„	SE 405068	Part of irregularly shaped enclosure.
„	SE 437037	Half of large circle, possibly a round barrow ditch.
Bolton on Dearne	SE 442028	Two rectangular enclosures (the larger double ditched), which are linked to extensive field boundaries to the north.
Worsborough	SE 353023	Large curvilinear enclosure.
Mexborough	SE 493004	Rectangular enclosure, fields and deeply rutted lane.
Wath on Dearne	SE 448008	Two D-shaped and one square enclosures. Lane.
„	SK 443994	Sub-rectangular enclosure within much larger similar enclosure, along one side of which runs a lane (Fig. 9).
„	SK 452999	Large square enclosure.
Brampton Bierlow	SK 409985	Near Hooper stand, two adjacent enclosures, one rectangular, one irregular.
Wentworth	SK 382987	Hexagonal enclosure.
„	SK 408975	Two rectangular enclosures, a short distance apart.
„	SK 414977	Small sub-rectangular enclosure.
„	SK 397957	D-shaped enclosure.
„	SK 377983	Part of enclosure, shape uncertain.
Bramley	SK 505921	Near Hellaby Hall, small square enclosure.
„	SK 498915	Parallel field boundaries.
Thurcroft	SK 506912	Small rectangular enclosures and fields.
„	SK 511916	Small round enclosure.

The majority of the sites listed in the table lie in the southern part of the district, which is shown on a map (Fig. 5) together with part of the adjacent belt of Magnesian limestone. Open country is restricted by the urban and industrial development which has taken place on the coalfield and much of archaeological interest must have been lost. Some of the sites now recorded must be threatened in the longer term, for example those at Wath on Dearne, which are entirely surrounded by houses.

The distribution of sites given on the map is far from uniform, both on the coal measures and on the Magnesian limestone. The explanation may be provided, at least in part, by geological factors, and in the case of the coal measures it is significant that the cropmarks are principally on outcrops of the sandstone strata which are frequent in this formation. The soil formed on carboniferous sandstones is more likely to provide conditions suitable for cropmarks than soils on the shales and mudstones which alternate with the sandstones in the coal measures.

In most cases the cropmarks show isolated enclosures, though there are a few interesting more complex sites. This scatter of single enclosures resembles the cropmarks of the Magnesian limestone and may be contrasted with the more extensive remains found on the sandy land south of Doncaster, where it must have been much easier for early man to have cut the ditches which underlie most of the cropmarks photographed at the present day.

V WHARFE GRAVELS

The narrow band of terrace gravels beside the Wharfe is of some importance at Newton Kyme because of the ancient sites in this neighbourhood. The Roman fort and adjacent *vicus* showed well on 10 July 1976, but it was surprising to find a week later that these cropmarks had faded out almost completely.

Nothing new was recorded of the Roman fort, but the henge 400 m to the south-east (map reference SE 459450) could be seen much more clearly than in any previous year. The western arc of the ditches has often been photographed as a cropmark in cereals on the same field as the *vicus*, but the central and eastern part of the henge has been under grass

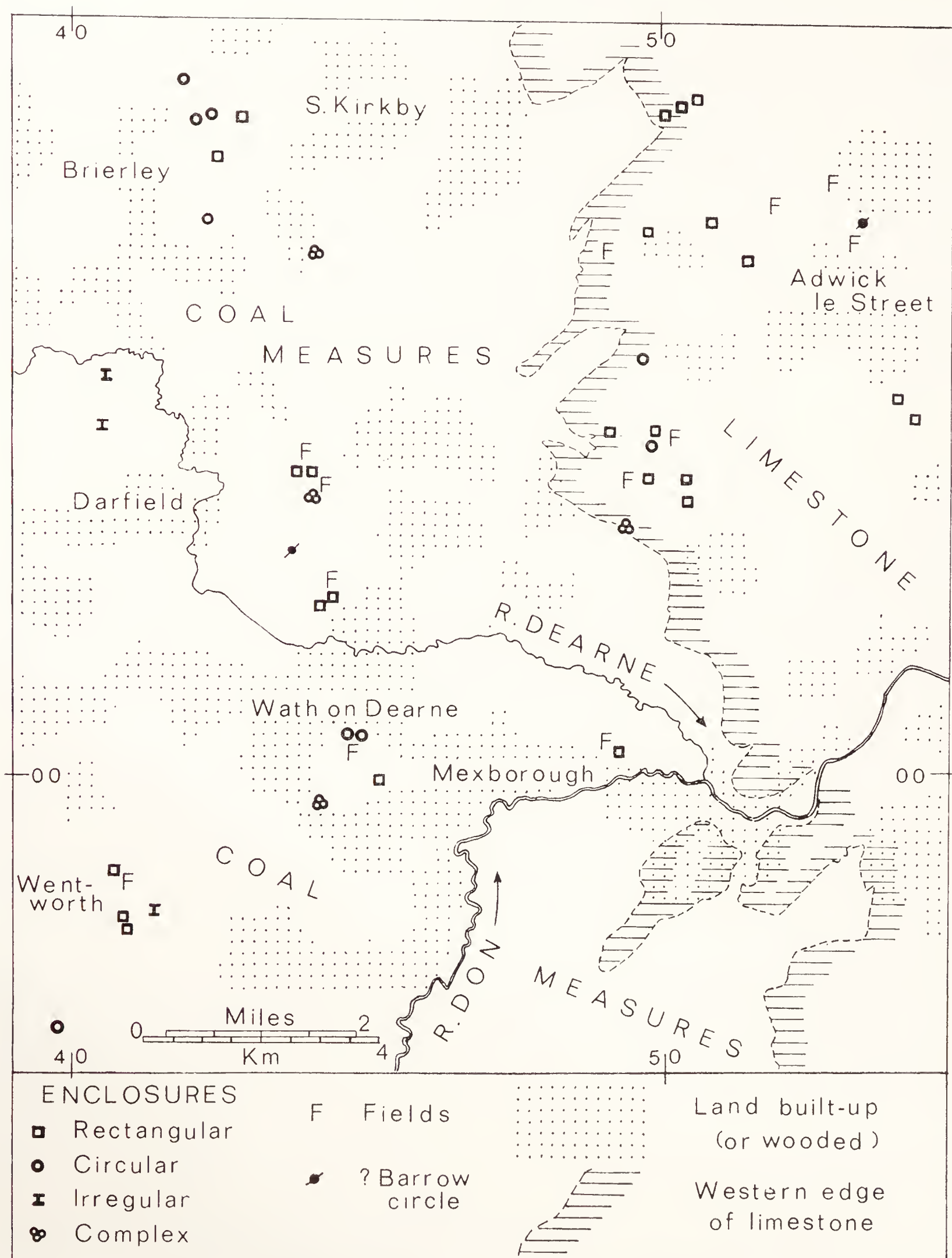


FIG. 5. Map showing distribution of cropmarks on the coal measures near the Dearne Valley and on the adjacent Magnesian limestone, South Yorkshire.

for many years. As long ago as 1967 Professor J. K. S. St Joseph obtained photographs which made clear the nature of the buried remains and I am grateful to him for information about the place. It has however been necessary to wait till 1976, when the grass field was taken into plough and sown with a cereal crop, for the whole plan of the monument to show well (Fig. 10).

The henge consisted of three concentric rings with approximate diameters of 210, 180

and 90 m. The inner ring, which had entrances at 170 and 350 degrees, could be traced very well, and the outer ring was also well marked, though there were breaks on the east side. The middle ring had many interruptions and was missing for perhaps 70 m on the north. A long curving cropmark crossed the henge from north to south and two parallel lines tangential to the outer ring at the south ran in an east-west direction. There is much still to explain here.

VI

BETWEEN THE RIVERS OUSE AND DERWENT, SOUTH OF YORK

The light and sandy soils of the parishes of Skipwith, North Duffield and Cliffe showed intricate cropmarks in some places. A great deal more detail was seen than at corresponding sites on the limestone. Insufficient time has yet been available to collate the evidence of 1976 and previous years, and only brief comments can be made at this stage. The following places were of special interest.

Skipwith

From SE 643378 to 655378. Cropmarks appeared at many places on the land surrounding Adamsons Farm, and were much more distinct than in previous years. The field immediately south-west of the farm buildings at SE 645379 contained a large complex of adjacent rectangular enclosures, one of which had a circle within. A probable square barrow may also be noticed on the photograph.

SE 658391. A four-sided enclosure of about 1000 sq. m contained a circle of about 14 m dia. Both the enclosure and the circle, which is presumably a hut site, had entrances to the east. There were traces of several other circles.

At many places north and north-east of Skipwith village there were intermittent marks of field boundary ditches, which were probably part of a system laid out neatly to a rectangular plan, very different from the irregular plan seen at Hotham and South Cliffe and described below.

North Duffield

SE 672365. South-east of Blackwood Hall was a very complicated site, which was difficult to understand but may become clearer in future if new cropmarks in adjacent fields provide more of the plan.

Cliffe

SE 684327. To the south-east of the village of South Duffield was another complicated series of adjacent rectangles, several of which contained circles. The place gives the impression of having been a well planned settlement site.

VII

BETWEEN THE RIVER DERWENT AND THE WOLDS

Holme on Spalding Moor

Photographs were taken of a number of interesting places in this large parish, of which the following appear to be the more important.

SE 782363. At Arglam a large square covering perhaps 30,000 sq. m was filled by the rather faint marks of a series of adjoining rectangular enclosures, the remains, presumably, of a large occupation site. Field boundaries were also seen.

SE 800345. East of Welhambridge, a lane and fields of irregular shape.

SE 817342. Immediately to the west of Bursea Grange, an unusually well-defined rectangle of about 3500 sq. m, with double ditch and, inside, a circle about 17 m diam. (Fig. 11).

Various sites were seen along the north bank of the River Foulness, the largest being at SE 830326, west of Hasholme Garth, where there was a double ditched rectangular enclosure of about 5000 sq. m, a lane, and traces of fields.

SE 820357 and 821355. North of Throlam were two complexes, consisting of a number of rectangular compartments, similar to that at Arglam, but on a smaller scale, as their areas were about 7000 sq. m in both cases (Fig. 12). There was a circle inside one of the enclosures, and they were connected to field boundaries.

Cropmarks were also seen at various places east and south-east of the town, but space does not permit the inclusion of details. It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that nothing was seen south or west of the parish boundary, that is, on the other side of the River Foulness.

South Cliffe and Hotham

On the low-lying country, at the foot of the escarpment to the east, traces of early agriculture and settlement were frequent in a strip of country extending for about $4\frac{1}{2}$ km, much of which was shown on a map prepared in 1973 (*Y.A.J.*, 46 (1974), p. 155).

SE 867375. West of North Cliffe Manor House a new site recorded in 1976 showed a very complicated pattern of rectangles, which must have been altered many times. Part of a circle, probably indicating a hut position, suggests an occupation site.

SE 876345 to 876334. The evidence obtained during three visits, when added to that of previous years, gave the plan of an area of small fields of from 1–4 acres, most irregularly planned (Fig. 6). Lanes between the fields were marked by their side ditches, though not all double ditches could be interpreted in this way, and some were probably double boundary lines. Something of this plan was shown as site D on the 1973 map, but this area of rather miserable little fields is now more comprehensible.

Wilberfoss

Between SE 744512 and 747510 a stretch of the Brough to York Roman road was shown well in early July by marks on the double ditches on each side. A connecting road or lane ran off in a north-easterly direction, following a curving line. Also to the north-east were field boundaries, which could apparently be linked with the road.

Skirpenbeck and Kirby Underdale

SE 747564. To the south of Skirpenbeck village and near a Roman road, a double ditched rectangular enclosure, field boundaries, and other cropmarks were seen.

SE 785578. Some 4 km to the west of the last site, at a point where the ground is rising as the escarpment of the Wolds is approached, was a big complex, the main feature of which was a large double ditched rectangle with internal subdivisions.

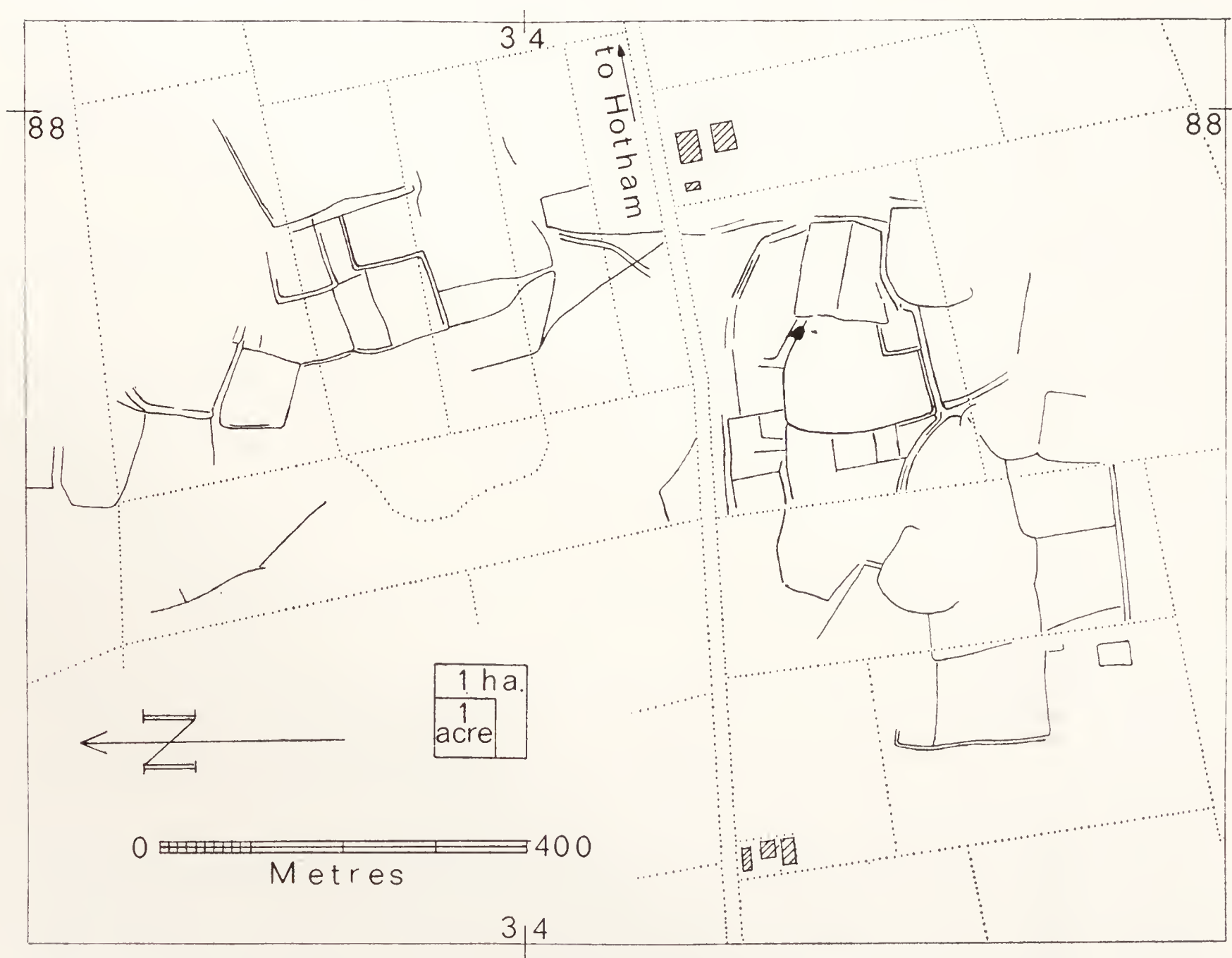


FIG. 6. Map of cropmarks at Hotham, south of Market Weighton, East Yorkshire.

VIII VALE OF MOWBRAY

Exploratory flights to the Vale of Mowbray, a name which is here used to describe the country between Ripon, Northallerton and Catterick, on 29 June and 4, 10, 17 and 18 July, proved less rewarding than had been hoped, but were not without results. The following places may be mentioned.

Snape SE 266847. Very clear 'negative' cropmarks (lighter green) showed the foundations of a building, about 20 m square with rooms inside. The building was enclosed by a ditch 30 m square, indicated by a 'positive' (darker green) cropmark. Traces of extensive field boundary ditches were seen to the east. The site was visited by Mrs. R. Hartley during the autumn, but no surface finds were obtained.

Kirklington SE 303803. Several lanes follow curving routes and are connected with field boundary ditches.

North Stainley SE 299764. A well marked sub-rectangular enclosure was noted on a patch of Magnesian limestone near the River Ure.

Wath SE 309766. Part of the outline of a similar enclosure and a lane appeared on terrace gravels on the opposite side of the Ure.

Hutton Conyers SE 351743 to 358751. A pit alignment was seen running for a considerable distance on Hutton Moor.

SE 361726. North of Marrow Flatts Farm was a large enclosure of rounded shape. In the same area was a barrow circle and two lines in parallel.

Walkingham Hill with Occaney SE 348615. Earthworks of a large enclosure of rounded, but irregular shape survive intact in a meadow. Other fields near this interesting site have recently been ploughed up and now show cropmarks of former field boundaries.

Near Plumpton Hall, south-west of Ripon, extensive negative cropmarks showed traces of buildings, which proved on investigation by Mrs. R. Hartley to be the site of a World War I army camp.

IX WENSLEYDALE AND WHARFEDALE

A flight was made up Wensleydale from Masham to Aysgarth on 17 July to see if the drought had produced cropmarks on the valley floor, but there were no results. The track of the flight is shown on Fig. 1. A month later, on 19 August, a visit was made to parts of upper Wharfedale and the Craven uplands to the west, where it seemed possible that additions to the plans of the well-known shadow sites might be shown by yellowing of the grass growing on the ruined walls. A large number of photographs were taken, but they have not yet been studied, and it is not yet clear whether they contain much new information.

X GENERAL COMMENTS

Air photographs of cropmarks or drawings derived from them show no more than the incomplete plans of buried remains, the dates of which are seldom known. It is therefore unwise to draw too many conclusions, but the following points may be made here.

(a) *Isolated enclosures*, generally rectangular (e.g. Fig. 7), and less often circular, D-shaped, or irregular, occurred in all areas where the soil was suitable for cropmarks. Their size was typically from 2000 to 5000 sq. m, but larger and smaller examples occur. The writer assumes that their ditches were in most cases dug to surround occupation sites.

(b) *Groups of adjacent enclosures* or areas divided into many rectangular compartments (e.g. Fig. 12) were not frequent, but were of much interest. In most cases they were on soft subsoils, where ditches could easily have been cut. No typical examples were seen on the hard Magnesian limestone.

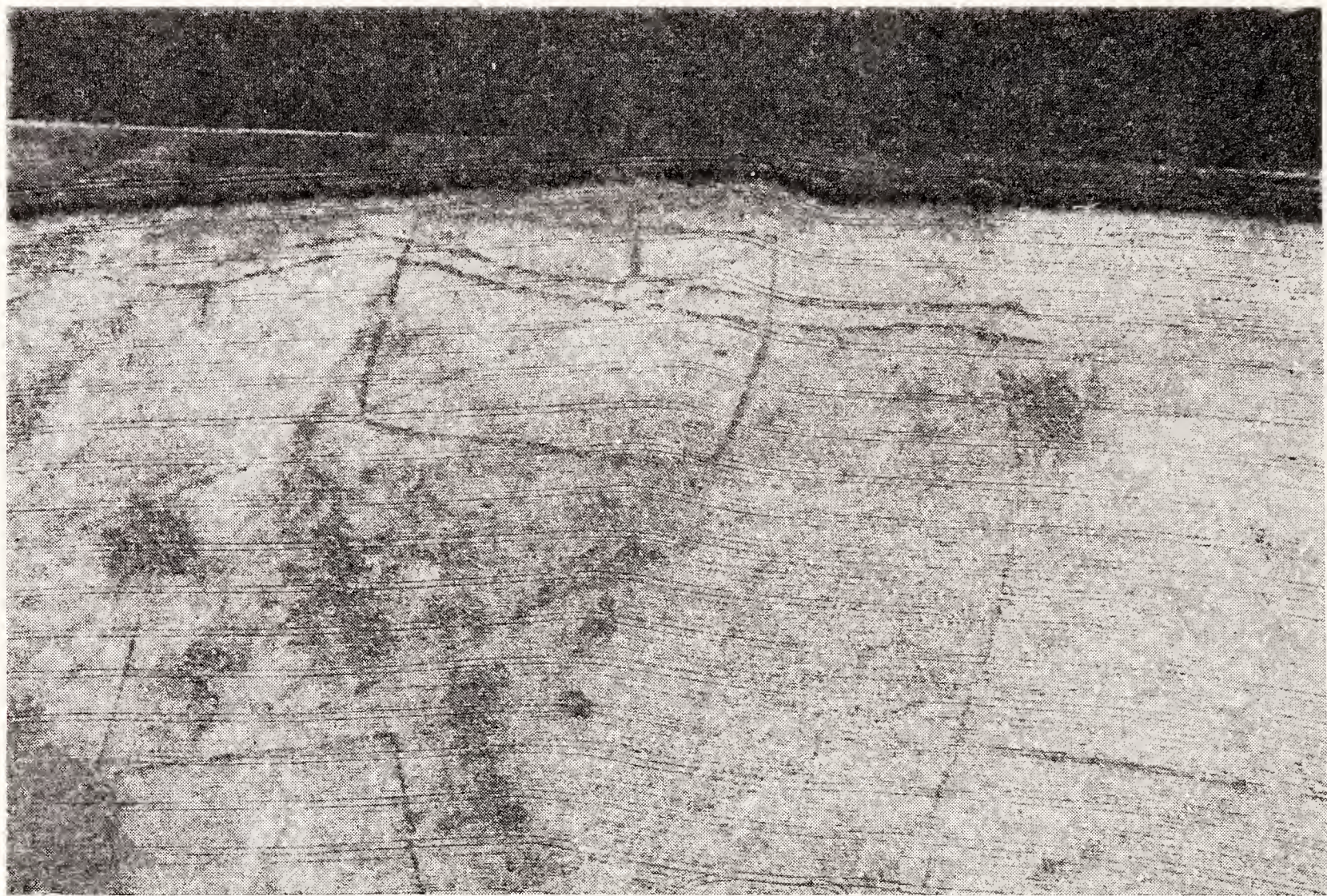


FIG. 7. Cropmarks near Compton, in Collingham parish, West Yorkshire, photographed 4 July 1976. Map reference SE 398444.

(c) *Field boundary ditches*, which were observed at many places, and were often linked to enclosures, show three types of fields:

- (i) small and irregular fields on the low-lying land near Hotham (Fig. 6),
- (ii) rectangular fields, the overall planning of which is not clear, at the Deightons (Fig. 3) and at Ledston (Fig. 4).
- (iii) rectangular fields planned in a very systematic manner in long parallel strips south of Doncaster (Y.A.J., 48 (1976), pp. 15, 16).

(d) It is interesting to note the frequency of *lanes*, which are marked by cropmarks on their side ditches, and sometimes also on their central rut. There must have been a good reason for the expenditure of so much work in cutting these side ditches.

(e) Without excavation, *circles* can only be classified by their general appearance into probable hut sites and probable ditches of ploughed out barrows:

- (i) the hut circles were usually from 15 to 25 m diam. and were often inside enclosures (e.g. Fig. 11),
- (ii) the barrow ditch types, common in many parts of England, are unusual in the country described in this report, and when seen were often near henges.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The work here reported was done as part of an annual programme arranged by the Aerial Archaeology Committee of the Society, with financial help from the Department of the Environment, the Margary Trust of the C.B.A. and the Society of Antiquaries. Assistance was kindly given by J. Pickering, who was the pilot on a long flight, by J. H. Little, E. Houlder and J. E. Bartlett who acted as photographers, and by P. A. James, who identified and listed the coal measures sites. Valuable photographic help was provided by the National Monuments Record.



FIG. 8. Cropmarks near the junction of the North Road and the Collingham to Boston Spa road, south of Wetherby, photographed on 4 July 1976. Map reference SE 407458.

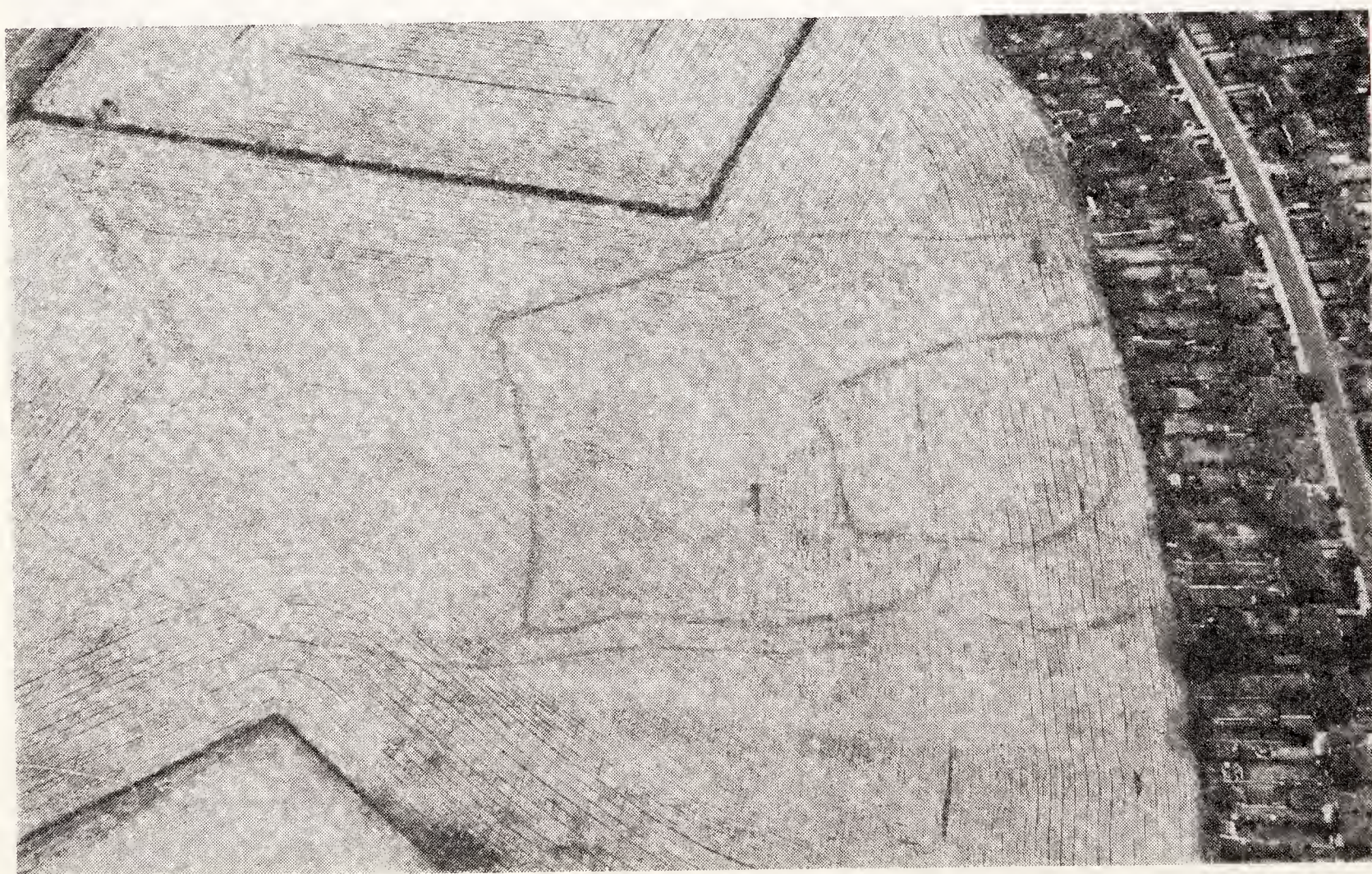


FIG. 9. Cropmarks at Wath on Dearne, South Yorkshire, photographed on 10 July 1976. Map reference SK 443994



FIG. 10. Cropmarks showing henge at Newton Kyme, east of Tadcaster, North Yorkshire, photographed on 10 July 1976. Map reference SE 459450.

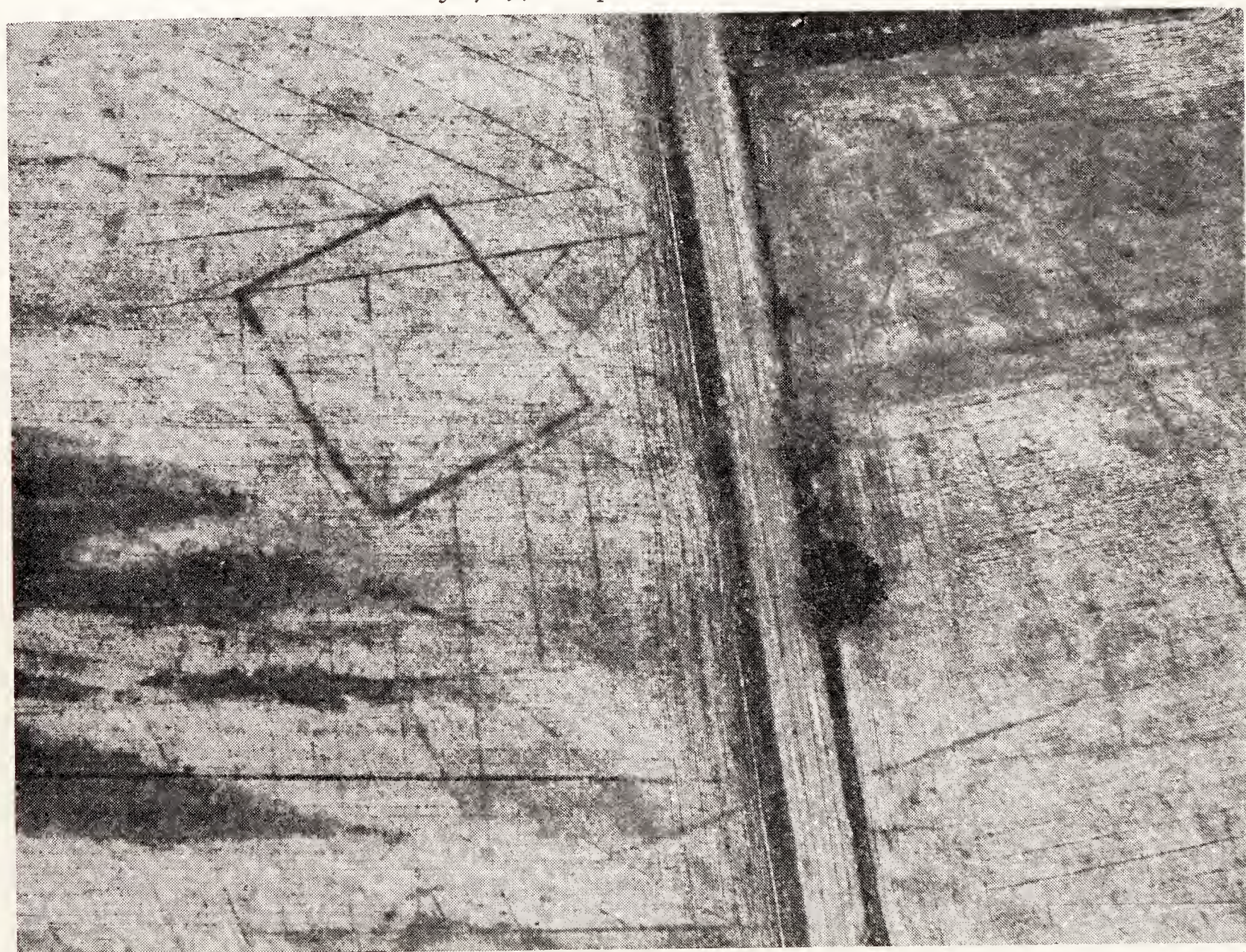


FIG. 11. Cropmarks near Bursea Grange, Holme on Spalding Moor, East Yorkshire, showing rectangular enclosure with circle inside, and faint marks of large outer enclosure, photographed on 4 July 1976. There are also many modern field drains. Map reference SE 817342.



FIG. 12. Cropmarks north of Throlam, Holme on Spalding Moor, East Yorkshire, showing two groups of enclosures which are linked to field boundaries, photographed on 4 July 1976. There are also many modern field drains and, in the right foreground, works connected with the adjacent airfield. Map reference SE 820356.

NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

A BALSAMARIUM IN THE YORKSHIRE MUSEUM, YORK

BY JOAN P. ALCOCK

In the Yorkshire Museum is a small bronze bust said to have been found in 1872 during the excavations on the site of the Railway Station.¹ A photograph of the object was included in Gordon Home's book² and it is referred to as a steelyard weight by Professor Toynbee.³ Apart from this, the bronze has not received the attention which it deserves. It is in fact not a steelyard weight but a balsamarium, or incense container, of rare, if not unique, design (Fig. 1).



FIG. 1.

The balsamarium, 5 cm high and 5 cm wide at the shoulders, takes the form of the head of an infant. It has been cleaned in modern times and is now golden in colour, possibly looking much as it did when first made. The cleaning process, however, has caused a certain amount of pitting, although such marks do not detract from the general appearance. At first sight the head seems to be bald, but incised lines, running outwards from the crown and made with an engraver, indicate hair. The lines cross the lid of the balsamarium and are themselves overlain by a lock of hair (*cirrus*), which crosses the lid and ends at the hinge. The *cirrus* appears on quite a number of figurines once considered to be 'isiaques' depicting priests or child-oblates of Isis, an interpretation now untenable.⁴

The facial features are clearly emphasised and meant to be amusing—chubby, pouched cheeks, deeply set, staring eyes and thick lips. The eyelids are carefully portrayed and the pupils of the eyes are deeply drilled so as to hold some substance, such as enamel, silver, or niello. Pitting, which is apparent on the ears, has not entirely removed the effect of sensitive modelling.

On each side of the head is a ring, cast as an integral part of the design. These rings held a chain, of which one link remains attached to the right-hand one. In the centre of the head is a hinged lid. This does not seem to have had an attachment for raising it, but a pin or

¹ Yorkshire Museum: H 2407. I am indebted to the Yorkshire Museum, York, for permission to publish this bronze and to Professor J. M. C. Toynbee for her comments on the article.

² G. Home, *Roman York* (1924), pl. opp. p. 130.

³ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (1964), p. 120.

⁴ J. Schwartz, 'Sur des Prétendus Isiaques', *Latomus*, xxii (1963), pp. 472-7.

toilet stick inserted between head and lid would easily flick back the latter. The base of the figure is open but at each side is a slight projection to which a pedestal-type base could be attached. The photograph in Home's *Roman York* shows such a base. Examples of balsamaria with their bases still attached have been found at Tannhamm (Austria), Upper Pautalia (Bulgaria), Mainz, Straldza, Warbowka, and in a Roman tomb at Merida in Spain. There is also one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁵ A pedestal base need not have been attached to every balsamarium; a flat base would be equally practical, if not so decorative. Few pedestal bases have survived into modern times.

Balsamaria were containers which held perfume, oil, or incense. An example found in a tomb at Aisey-le-Duc (Côte d'or) contained a grey, perfumed powder, which was probably incense.⁶ Pliny comments that perfumes were placed in tombs to honour the dead.⁷ Some balsamaria have Bacchic features which indicate an association with the cult of Bacchus and with a belief in the Afterlife. The fact that the York balsamarium was found on the site of a Roman cemetery suggests that it had been originally placed in a tomb.

Only five balsamaria have been found in Britain. One, from the River Eden at Carlisle, has Bacchic features.⁸ Two others, from Leicester and from Corbridge, have the negroid features which were a common motif in these objects;⁹ in each of these examples the bust rises from a calyx of petals. Two more are from Yorkshire—the bronze under discussion and a figurine found at Aldborough depicting the curled-up person of a sleeping slave, which, Professor Toynbee suggests, 'reveals the sensitive hand of a gifted artist'.¹⁰ Full-length figures usually took the form of a pot-bellied, squatting man or of a sleeping figure, often with a lantern between his feet—the slave attendant on his master. An extremely well-modelled balsamarium from Dubravica depicts a negro slave, sitting, asleep and wrapped in a cloak with legs placed astride a lantern.¹¹ Another in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, shows the figure sitting in the same attitude and with legs and arms placed in positions somewhat similar to those on the Aldborough figure.¹² The poignancy of the expression on the face of the Aldborough slave, together with his resigned attitude, goes far to explain the popularity of such genre figures.

The York balsamarium comes into a rarer category known as 'grotesques'. There is no precise parallel for this bust, although there is a bust of an infant in the Trier Museum,¹³ and busts of bald-headed old men have been found at Amiens, Lyons and Avignon.¹⁴ As an example of such an infant the York bronze appears to be unique. Balsamaria with negroid or grotesque features were produced in great quantities in the second and third centuries A.D. and are Hellenistic in origin, being made particularly in Asia Minor and at the Nile delta.¹⁵ Examples have been found along the valleys of the Danube and the Rhine, especially around Strasbourg, where an Alexandrine colony was established.¹⁶ The York bronze probably came into this country as part of the stock-in-trade of a merchant, although it could possibly have been the possession of a legionary.

⁵ B. D. Filov, *L'Art Antique en Bulgarie* (1925), p. 65, pl. 53; *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, vii (1912), Table 7, 5-6; *Archeologia* (Poland), xiv (1963), pp. 110, 113, pls. 24, 28; E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catalogue de bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1895), p. 194, no. 437 and fig. ; A. Garcia y Bellido, *Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal* (1949), no. 485.

⁶ *Pro Alesia*, viii (1922), pp. 81-4.

⁷ *Natural History*, XIII, I, 20.

⁸ *Transactions: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, lxxiii (1974), pp. 90-3. This has Bacchic features.

⁹ Leicester: J. M. C. Toynbee, op. cit. p. 120, pl. xxxii, described the object as a steelyard weight which was its secondary use; Corbridge: *Archaeologia Aeliana* (3), (1914), p. 300, fig. 11; W. Bulmer, *Romans at Corbridge* (1970), p. 14.

¹⁰ H. Smith, *The Remains of Roman Isurium* (1852), pl. 20; *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain in the British Museum* (1951), p. 54, no. 14, pl. 18; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (1962), p. 150, no. 55, pl. 63; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (1964), p. 120.

¹¹ L. Popovic, D. Mano-zisi, M. Velickovic and B. Jelcic, *Anticka Bronza u Jugoslaviji* (1969), no. 212.

¹² H. Menzel, *Bildkataloge des Kestner-Museums, Hannover, VI, Römische Bronzen* (1964), no. 65.

¹³ H. Menzel, *Die Römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland. II Trier* (1966), no. 177. This is a steelyard weight.

¹⁴ Amiens: *Revue Archéologique* i (1866), p. 79, fig. 7; Lyon: S. Boucher, *Bronzes Grecs, hellénistiques et étrusques des musées de Lyon* (1970), pp. 58–9, nos. 37–38; A. de Ridder, *Bronzes Antiques du Louvre II* (1915), pl. 104, no. 2947.

¹⁵ K. Majewski, *Balsomaires Anthropomorphes en bronze dans l'Empire Romain*, *Archeologia* (Poland), xiv (1963), pp. 95–125.

¹⁶ *Revue Archéologique* (1962), pp. 168 ff.

CARVED HUMAN BONE FROM THE ROMAN *VICUS*, CASTLEFORD

BY KEITH MANCHESTER

A small collection of human bones was discovered during the excavation by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit of first-century levels in the Castleford *vicus* during 1974. The group contained the atlas, axis minus odontoid process, right superior ramus of the mandible, the anterior 5 cm of the right inferior ramus of the mandible, left hemimandible, 10 cm of the shaft of the right tibia, and the proximal 9.1 cm of the right tibia. Morphologically and anthropometrically the remains are probably those of a male in the age range 35–45 years.

The anterior ends of the inferior borders of the right and left hemimandibles are smooth and flat and show evidence of carving (Fig. 2). The area on the right hemimandible is 3.8 cm long and of maximal width 0.7 cm. On this area there are the scored marks of grinding in a direction at right-angles to the inferior ramus. The area on the left hemimandible 1 cm from the midline is 0.7 cm long and of maximal width 0.3 cm. The scoring marks are in an antero-posterior direction. The marks on both hemimandibles appear to have been produced by grinding on a fairly smooth abrasive surface in the direction stated with the mandible held in a roughly horizontal plane.

In considering the proximal end of the right tibia (Fig. 3), the antero-medial part of the medial condyle has been cut away with smooth cut edges. The medial border of this tibial fragment has also been cut away, the cutting marks indicating that this was at least

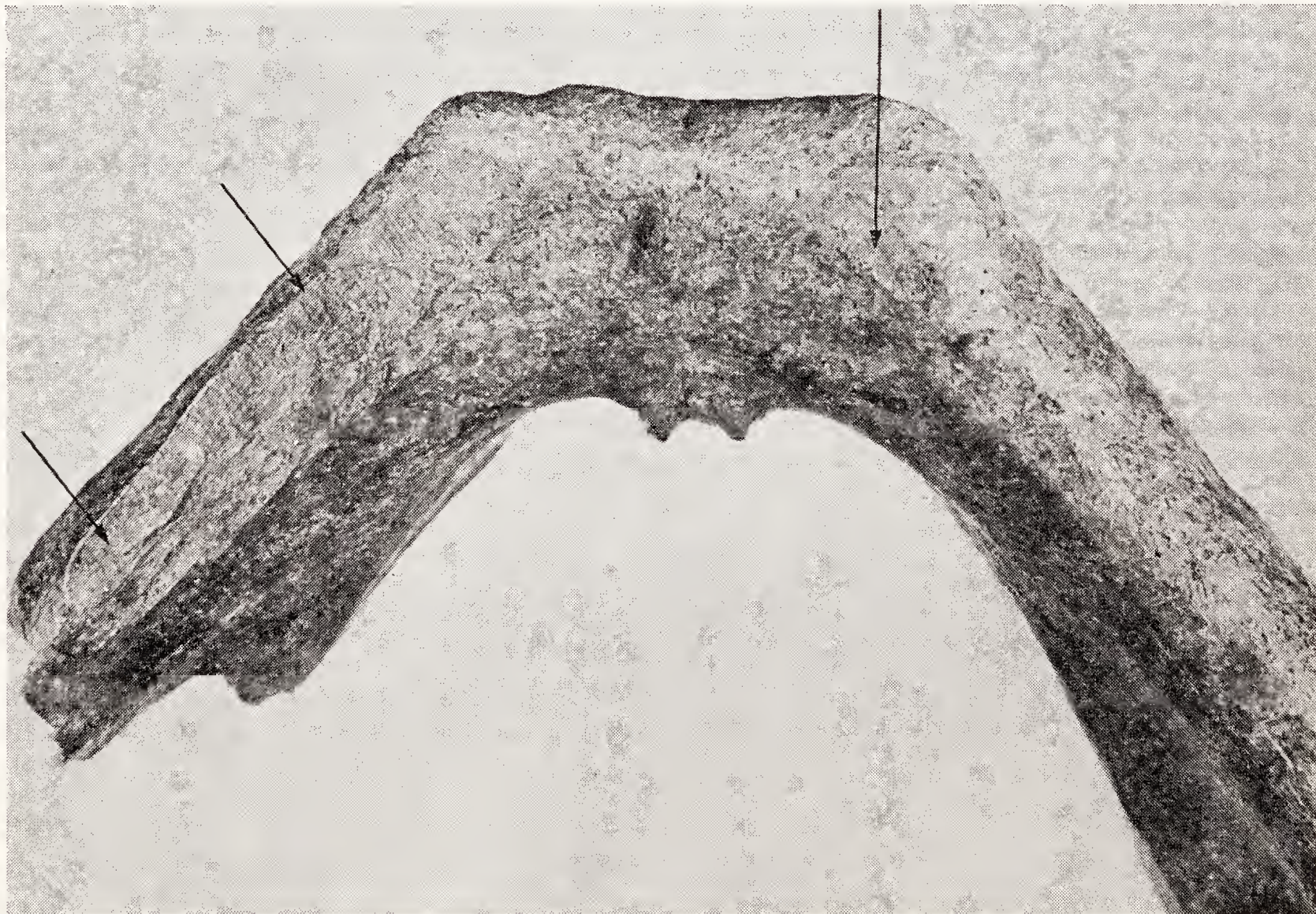


FIG. 2.



FIG. 3

a two-stage process involving two cuts. Curved cutting marks, convex medially, are visible and suggest that the direction of the cutting implement was towards the proximal end of the bone. The marks could be made by a cutting edge that was not completely regular but slightly serrated. The resultant bone is a tetrahedron with its apex distally, and of total length 9.1 cm. The base size is 4.9 by 4.0 by 4.6 cm. The apex of the fragment shows no signs of wear and measures 0.23 by 0.13 cm. This tibial fragment fits comfortably in the palm of an adult hand and could serve as a boring or piercing tool. It is suggested that this proximal tibial fragment was cut to this shape to produce a hand held boring tool for use on leather or some softer material.

It is possible but not certain that the axis has also been cut. The inferior borders of both sides of the vertebral arch show a plane surface. That on the left side is roughly horizontal and extends nearly the whole length of the arch. That on the right side is at about 30 degrees to the horizontal and is adjacent to the midline posteriorly. It is not thought that both surfaces have been produced with one cut, and they are not consistent with a decapitating injury.

The marking on the mandible, tibia, and axis are not consistent with antemortem injury but were deliberately produced after death after putrefaction of the soft tissues. No reason can be offered for the markings on the mandible or the axis. If, as is suggested, the tibia was a tool, then the reason for its presence amongst the small collection of bones is unexplained. The date of the primary working and deposition of the bones is uncertain.

The writer would be grateful for any information regarding carved human bone from other sites.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Mr. Philip Mayes who read and commented on this note. I am also grateful to Mr. P. Harrison who took the photographs.

TWO MEDIEVAL JUGS FROM SCARBOROUGH

BY RAYMOND A. VARLEY

In 1969 the Convent of the Ladies of Mary Grammar School, Scarborough, loaned to the Scarborough Museum of Archaeology a tubular-spouted jug and an ovoid jug. These were found on the site of the Old Bowling Green on the west side of the northern end of Queen Street (TA 049885) during the digging of foundations for the Convent, which opened in 1886.¹ They were individual finds and have previously escaped publication. The tubular-spouted jug has been reconstructed and the ovoid jug was found complete.

Tubular-spouted Jug (Fig. 4.1).

This is in a medium hard, sandy, pinkish buff ware, covered nearly overall on the exterior with a yellowish green glaze. The height is 30.7 cm, the rim diameter is 10.6 cm and the base diameter is 14 cm. The narrow rim with a hollow below curves out to the neck, and the strap handle with two grooves bears two thumb impressions where it joins the body, but no thumbing occurs at the top. The base angle is marked by single spaced thumb impressions 5 cm apart, pressed down below the level of the slightly sagging base. The junction of the neck and body on the exterior is marked by rilling. The decoration of wavy horizontal lines, produced by a two-toothed comb, between horizontal lines, is beneath the glaze. Fine vertical applied strips with finger-tip imprint hang down from the base of the neck with other strips branching off from them. These strips have a brown glaze running down from the base towards the rim and onto the yellowish green glaze at the neck and rim.

Tubular-spouted jugs with a supporting bridge are a particular feature of Yorkshire pottery, well represented at York;² their wider distribution southwards to Kent and northwards to southern Scotland has been mapped by Dunning and by Jope and Hodges.³ This highly decorated example may have been made at the nearby Castle Road kiln site in the fourteenth century.⁴ The fabric produced by this kiln is of a sandy pinkish buff colour with a small proportion in a coarse gritty grey and a finer grey. The glazes used are green, though there is a wide variety of shades and a still wider variation in quality. The decoration used on jugs consists of plain strips, rouletted applied pellets, scales and wavy lines.⁵ In 1967 another medieval kiln site was found at the rear of St. Peter's Church, Castle Road.⁶ A proportion of its products during the first half of the fourteenth century was highly decorated.⁷ Sherds include applied pellets, fine plain finger-impressed strips, rouletted, twisted and strap handles. The kiln also produced cooking pots, pancheons and storage jars in a fine coarse fabric.⁸

Parts of tubular-spouted jugs have been excavated at the Chapel of Our Lady, Scarborough,⁹ and at Hatterboard;¹⁰ they have also been found at Cross Street during rebuilding operations in 1953-54 and at Scarborough Castle.¹¹ A green glazed example

¹ The writer is indebted to Mr. J. G. Rutter, Curator of the Scarborough Museum for this information and for assistance.

² Yorkshire Museum Collection. B. Rackham, *Medieval English Pottery* (1972).

³ G. C. Dunning, 'The wider affinities and dating of the Audlem pottery', *Med. Arch.*, IV (1960), pp. 120-5. E. M. Jope and H. W. M. Hodges, 'Excavations in Carlisle', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Archaeol. Soc.*, LV (1956), pp. 79-84, Fig. 5.

⁴ The Castle Road kiln site, found late in the nineteenth century, presents great difficulties. Numerous fragments of pottery were picked up over a wide area but seem to have been mixed with finds from the rest of the town, so that it is difficult to pinpoint the precise fabric made there. Of the pieces said to have been made at the kiln, one is an early nineteenth-century jug from South-central France. J. G. Rutter, *Medieval Pottery in the Scarborough Museum* (1961), pp. 7-28. (Subsequently cited as Rutter (1961).)

⁵ Rutter (1961), pp. 21-4.

⁶ Excavated by P. Farmer in 1967, *Y.A.J.*, XLII (1968), p. 116. Report in preparation.

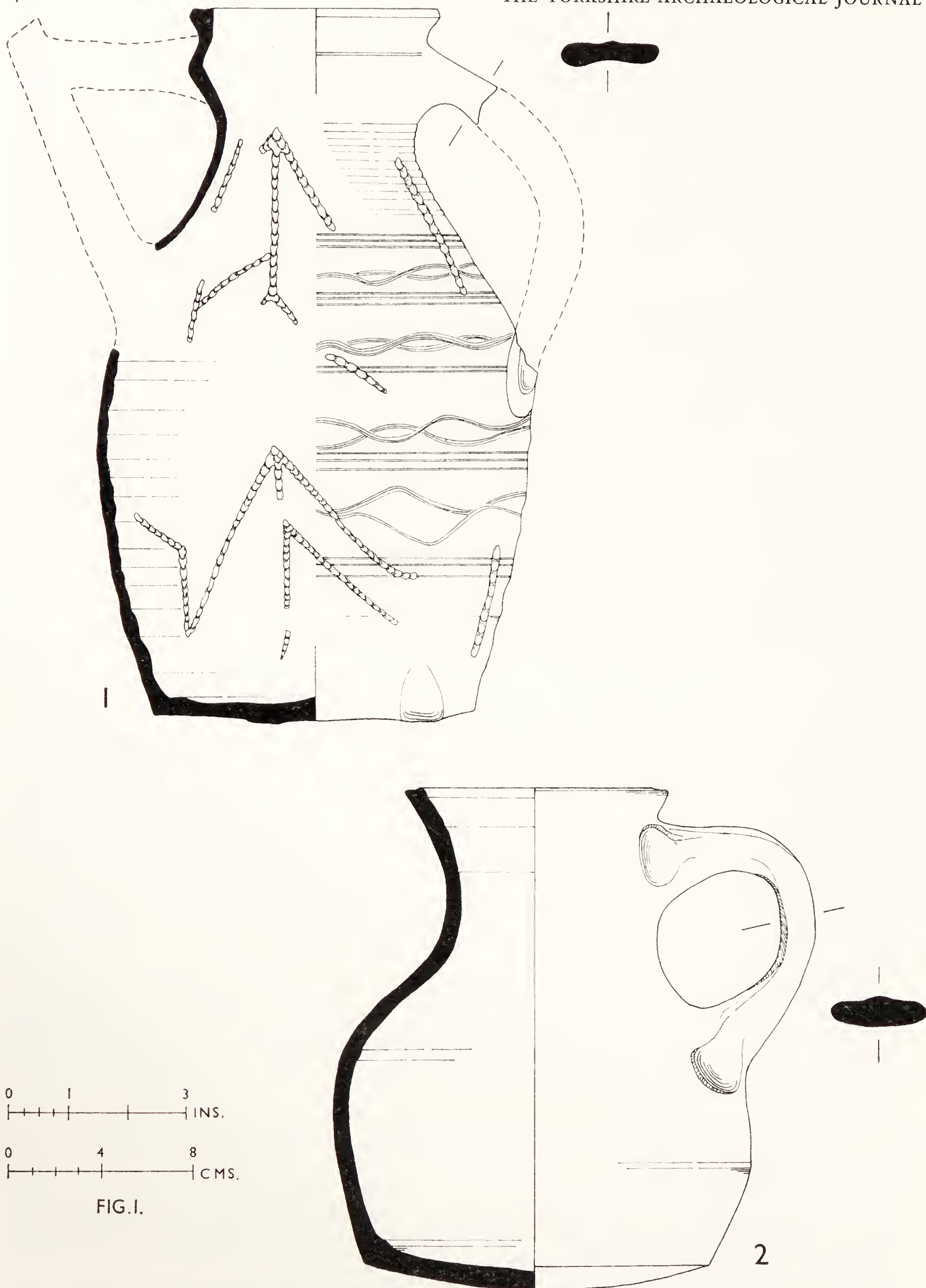
⁷ Pottery examined by the writer and a full report in preparation.

⁸ Sherds in this fine coarse fabric have been found in Scarborough. R. A. Varley, *Y.A.J.*, XLV (1973), p. 206.

⁹ Excavated in 1921-5 by the late F. G. Simpson. Rutter (1961), p. 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Examined by the writer, in private possession.



with applied strips and thumb impressions at the base was excavated at Flixton Carr House.¹²

Ovoid Jug (Fig. 4.2)

This is 21.6 cm high, 11.3 cm in diameter at the rim and 15 cm in diameter at the base.

¹² T. C. M. Brewster, *Two Medieval Habitation Sites in the Vale of Pickering* (1952), p. 13, Fig. X. 1.

The fabric is medium hard, coarse dirty reddish brown with grey tones. The strap handle has two vertical grooves with a pair of thumb prints at the junction with the body and thumb prints pressed onto the neck. On the top of the handle are splashes of burnt dark green glaze. The rim is slightly out-bent with an internal groove and a pinched-out spout. The jug has a broad sagging base with no finger impressions.

Medieval kilns making pots in this coarse reddish brown fabric have been excavated at Staxton and Potter Brompton.¹³ These kilns in the Vale of Pickering are in a rural area to the south-west of Scarborough. The Staxton/Potter Brompton potters were operating from the end of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century. Brompton had become Potter Brompton by 1285.¹⁴ No jugs or glazed wares were produced there but pancheons, storage jars and cooking pots were the main products. Forms rarely represented are dishes, lids, lamps and bowls.¹⁵

The ovoid jugs made at Staxton are in two sizes—medium and large. They have slightly out-bent rims with pinched-out spouts, strap handles with two vertical grooves and a pair of thumb prints at the junction with the body and pressed onto the neck, and sagging bases. Some are partly glazed on the upper part of the vessel with a green-tinged glaze. The ovoid jug from the Convent strongly resembles them in style and fabric. Ovoid jugs with broad sagging bases have a wide distribution in the north-east at and soon after 1250. They occur at Finchdale Priory, Durham,¹⁶ and in Scotland at Melrose, Jedburgh and, frequently, at Bothwell Castle.¹⁷ Plain ovoid jugs have been found at Ayton Castle,¹⁸ Huntriss Row,¹⁹ Lebberston,²⁰ and Reighton²¹ in the Scarborough area.

¹³ Rutter (1961), p. 54; T. C. M. Brewster, 'Staxton Ware – An Interim Report', *Y.A.J.*, XXXIX (1958), 445–6; Brewster, op. cit. in n. 12, p. 47. The pottery from the Staxton and Potter Brompton kiln sites excavated by Mr. Brewster was purchased by Doncaster Museum. The writer is indebted to Mr. M. J. Dolby, Keeper of Antiquities, for making this available for study.

¹⁴ H. E. Jean Le Patourel, 'Documentary Evidence and the Medieval Pottery Industry', *Med. Arch.*, XII (1968), p. 124.

¹⁵ Information supplied by Mr. T. C. M. Brewster.

¹⁶ M. G. Jarrett and B. J. N. Edwards, 'Medieval and other pottery from Finchdale Priory, County Durham', *Arch. Ael.*, XXXIX (1961), pp. 244, 246, fig. 16, p. 268 and figs. 26, 27, p. 269.

¹⁷ S. H. Cruden, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, LXXXVII (1952–3), p. 162, fig. 1.3; LXXXIX (1955–6), p. 71, figs. 4–7; LXXXVI (1951–2), p. 145, fig. 5, 17–21.

¹⁸ F. C. Rimington and J. G. Rutter, *Ayton Castle* (1967), p. 50, fig. 8.1.

¹⁹ Rutter (1961), p. 10, fig. 1.1.

²⁰ R. A. Varley, op. cit. in n. 8, p. 205.

²¹ In Roman Malton Museum collection, to be published.

A LEAD SHEARING WEIGHT FROM QUARMBY NEAR HUDDERSFIELD

BY R. A. McMILLAN

In 1966 a heart-shaped lead weight with an iron ring stapled into the upper side was presented to the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, by the owner of the premises at Quarmby near Huddersfield where it had lain in one of the outbuildings since as far back as anyone could remember. Measuring 6 inches in length and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches across the widest part, it weighs 12 lb. 14 oz. Therefore, if we allow for the possible loss through wear and tear, it is likely that the incised number '13' which appears on the top just below the ring, denotes an original weight of 13 lb. At the lobed end the metal is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, falling away towards the pointed tip.

There are grounds for believing that this represents a rare, if not unique, example of the shearing weight which formed a standard item of equipment in the West Riding cloth dressing shop prior to the large-scale introduction of finishing machinery around the beginning of the nineteenth century. After being raised with teazles and cards, the cloth was pinned across the padded surface of the shearboard where it rested while the nap was cut level by the cropper using an enormous pair of shears. Following a modification to the

ancient form of the shears, only one of the blades actually lay on the cloth, the other being inclined at an angle of 45 degrees. It was because of this that weights were required on the lower blade as a means of steadying the shears during the cutting, thereby increasing the purchase of the blades.

There is in fact a family tradition claiming that the Quarmby premises to which this weight belonged were being used for cloth dressing at the time of the local Luddite troubles of 1812. This lies in the period before the disappearance of hand dressing; it is also known that well into living memory, a pair of cropping shears could be seen outside the building in question. It looks as though the Quarmby weight may have belonged originally to a set or sets of the type found in the dressing shops, for several others like it, not all of the same size, were disposed of as scrap metal during World War II. One was kept only because its shape and heaviness made an excellent door wedge.

Whilst historically the shape of the shearing weight varied from place to place, some taking the form of a single rectangular block resting on the blade,¹ illustrations concerned with the West Riding seem to indicate the use there of weights similar to that from Quarmby. In the plate called 'The Cloth Dresser', two flattish, heart-shaped weights, without rings, can be seen lying on a shearboard where a cropper is working.² There is even less difference between the Quarmby weight and those depicted in the nineteenth century lithograph of 'The Old Cropping Shop', in which sets of four weights strung together by their rings are seen in position, with the thicker, lobed ends facing forwards to give the extra pressure at the edge of the blade.

Although inevitably most of the historical references to shearing weights occur in passing, a contemporary description of their purpose exists in the section 'Woollen Manufacture' in Rees's *Cyclopaedia*:

The closeness with which the shears cut is regulated by weights laid upon the flat of the lower blade; these press the blade down into the soft cushion on which the cloth is spread, so that the fur will stand up more above the edge of the blade.³

Typical of the references found in probate inventories is the following excerpt from the inventory of John Kay of Totties near Holmfirth which was drawn up in 1757: '5 pair of Sheers, £2, Lead weights belonging Sheers, 5s. 0d., 2 Sheerboards & Handles, 5s. 6d.'⁴ It is possible that the origins of the shearing weight do not go further back than the beginnings of the eighteenth century when shears of the type described replaced the older form in which both blades lay flat on the cloth. Certainly, weights seem to be absent from illustrations of this older method.

The term 'shearing weight' itself derives from a reference given by Crump.⁵ One document which is worth quoting for the detail it provides about the use of weights in the dressing shop is a stock-taking inventory compiled at J. T. Clay's mill at Rastrick in 1812.⁶

Among the contents of the Press Shop Chamber there were:	£	s.	d.
4 Shear Boards with weights foot Boards &c	10	0	0
15 Pair Shears	1/14	25	10 0.

The Middle Shop contained:

7 Pair Shears ('with weights' erased)	1/10	10	10 0
4 Shear Boards Trusels &c weights &c	2/10	10	0 0.

¹ *Dictionnaire Technologique*, Paris, 1822-9.

² Walker, G., *The Costume of Yorkshire*, 1814.

³ Rees, A., ed., *The Cyclopaedia*, 1802-20, vol. 38.

⁴ Hey, D. G., 'The Use of Probate Inventories for Industrial Archaeology', *Industrial Archaeology*, 10, (1973), p. 210.

⁵ Crump, W. B., ed., *The Leeds Woollen Industry 1780-1820*, Leeds, 1931, p. 325.

⁶ Tolson Memorial Museum, Accession No. 43.10.53.

Whilst in the Low Dressing Shop were:

23 Pair Shears	1/14	39	2	0
8 Shear Boards 8 Setts of Weights with Trussels foot Boards &c	2/10	20	0	0.

The meaning of this appears to be that, in the larger establishments at any rate, it was usual to provide a set of weights, not for every pair of shears, but as part of the equipment including trestles and footboards which belonged to the shearboard, the basic workbench of the cropping shop. At any one time, only a limited number of shears would be in use, with others awaiting re-sharpening or being reserved for special jobs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer would like to thank Mr. E. W. Aubrook, Curator of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, who first realised the significance of this weight, for making it available for study; and Mr. S. T. Dibnah, Chief Librarian and Curator, Kirklees Libraries and Museums Service for permission to publish this note.

AN IRON SPADE-SHEATH FROM THE CROSSING VAULT OF BEVERLEY MINSTER

BY DAVID EVANS AND RICHARD MORRIS

In September 1976 a spade-sheath was found by workmen engaged on the clearance of rubbish from the upper surface of the central crossing vault of Beverley Minster. It consists of an iron sheath with a rounded groove and the remains of a forged applique strip on the front to receive the wooden blade (Fig. 5). It is straight-mouthed with expanded edges, lugged side-straps and end-pieces. The solid end-pieces are unusual: most examples have nails in the side (e.g. Basing House, Hants.¹ and Sandal Castle, West Yorks.²). This may

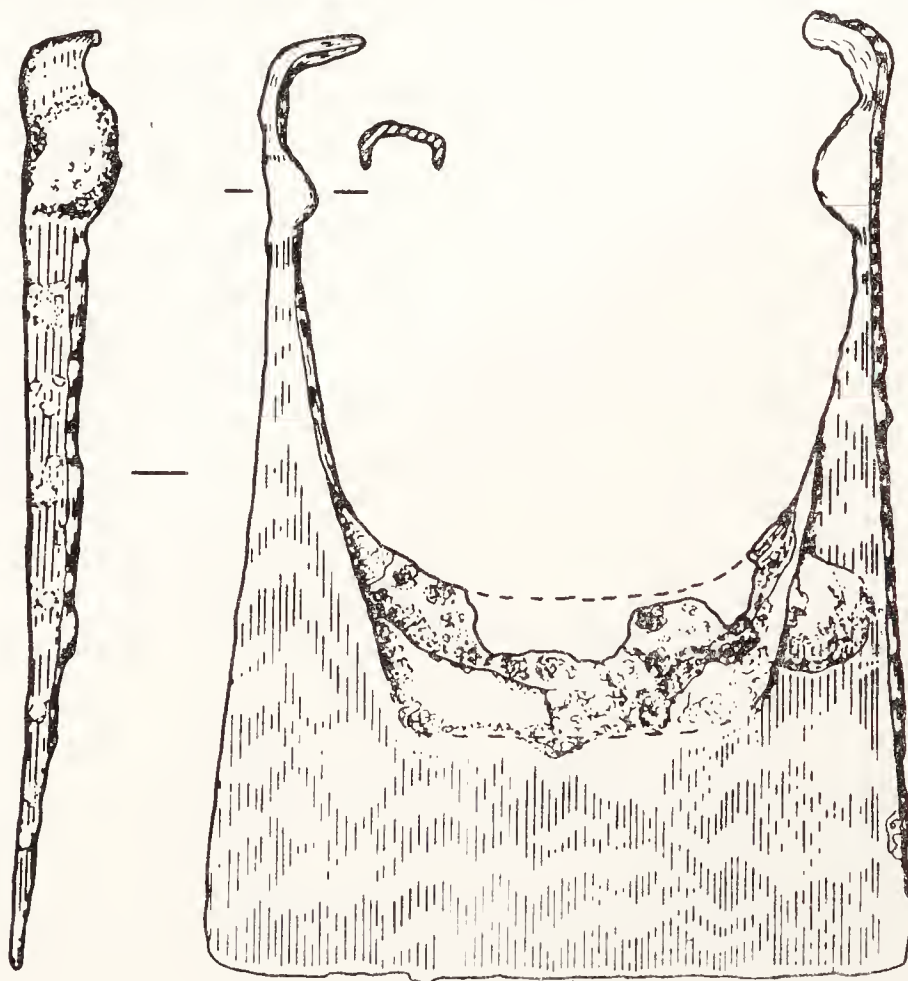


FIG. 5.

¹ S. Moorhouse, 'Finds from Basing House, Hampshire (c. 1540-1645): Part Two', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, V (1971), p. 42 and figs. 54-5.

² P. Mayes (ed.), *Sandal Castle* (forthcoming).

suggest an alternative method of fixing the sheath to the blade, or it may be an indication of its function (e.g. as a stamp spade).

The construction of a dome over the crossing in the eighteenth century and its removal in the nineteenth century would have provided opportunities for the loss of the spade. The fact that architectural details recently exposed on the interior of the crossing walls above the vault seem not to have been seen or discussed by previous commentators on the building may suggest that the accumulation of rubbish was already well developed by the nineteenth century. While it is possible that the sheath sank into this debris at a later date, the date of the last campaign of building in the nineteenth century offers a *terminus ante quem*. However, spade-sheaths, albeit of simpler form, are known from the Roman period onwards,³ and were still in common use in many rural areas in this century.⁴ Although a post-medieval date is most likely, a medieval date for the spade cannot be ruled out.

³ W. H. Manning, 'Mattocks, Hoes, Spades and Related Tools in Roman Britain' in A. Gailey and A. Fenton (eds) *The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe*, pp. 18–29, figs. 3–4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 10a and 11a, Pl. 25.

A COLLARED URN AND PEBBLE MACE HEAD OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE FROM BROWN HILL, SADDLEWORTH

By J. A. GILKS

Summary A Collared Urn of the Early Bronze Age from Brown Hill, Saddleworth, has in the past escaped the detailed publication that it deserves. A Pebble Mace Head found on the same site was described, but not illustrated, by Fiona Roe and the late Jeffrey Radley.¹

DISCOVERY

In May 1844 two urns were discovered by workmen whilst stripping overburden at the Brown Hill quarry [SD 997064], immediately to the west of Saddleworth station, and at 600 ft. (183 m.) above sea level (Fig. 1). In a letter dated May 1844, George Shaw, a local

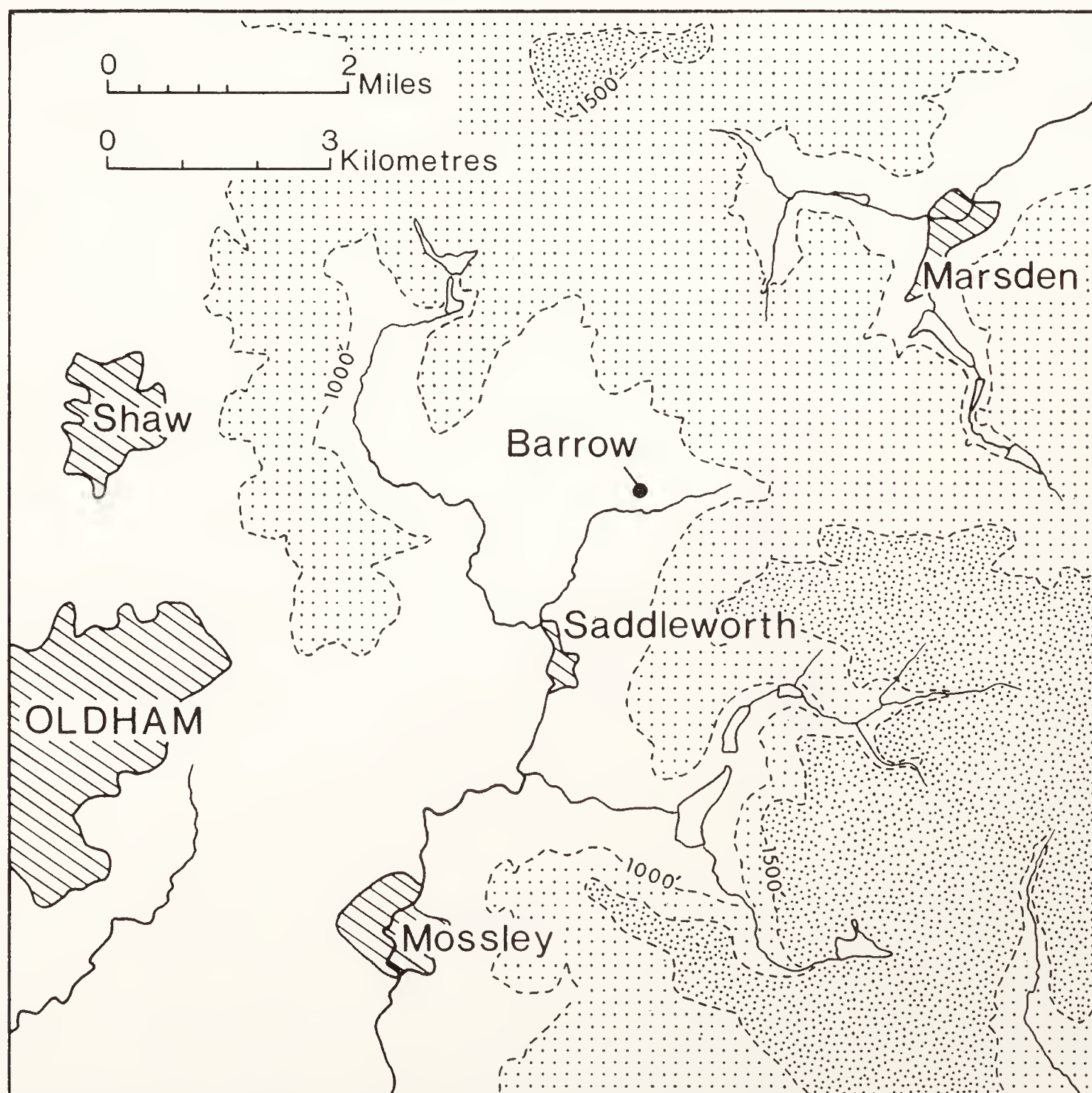


FIG. 1. Location of barrow, Brown Hill, Saddleworth (Taken from the Ordnance Survey Map of 1913).

¹ Roe, F., and Radley, J., 'Pebble Mace Heads with Hour Glass Perforations from Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire', *Y.A.J.* xlii (1968), pp. 169-77.

antiquarian, records that the urns were found 18–20 in. (46–61 cm.) below the surface in a charcoal lined hollow capped with stones and were 4 ft. (1.22 m.) apart. In a second letter, however, dated 18 June, Shaw states that they were found at 4 ft. 6 in. (1.37 m.) from the surface and were covered by a cairn:² the latter depth seems exceptional and suggests that the urns were located at the base of a deep pit and not a hollow. It is the writer's opinion that the latter figure refers to the depth at which the vessels were found from the top of the covering mound and not from the surrounding land surface.

Fragments of one of the Collared Urns (Fig. 2) are preserved in the Tolson Memorial Museum along with the Pebble Mace Head (Fig. 3); the Mace Head was found inside the larger of the two urns and a second 'celt' is said to have been found later on the same site.³

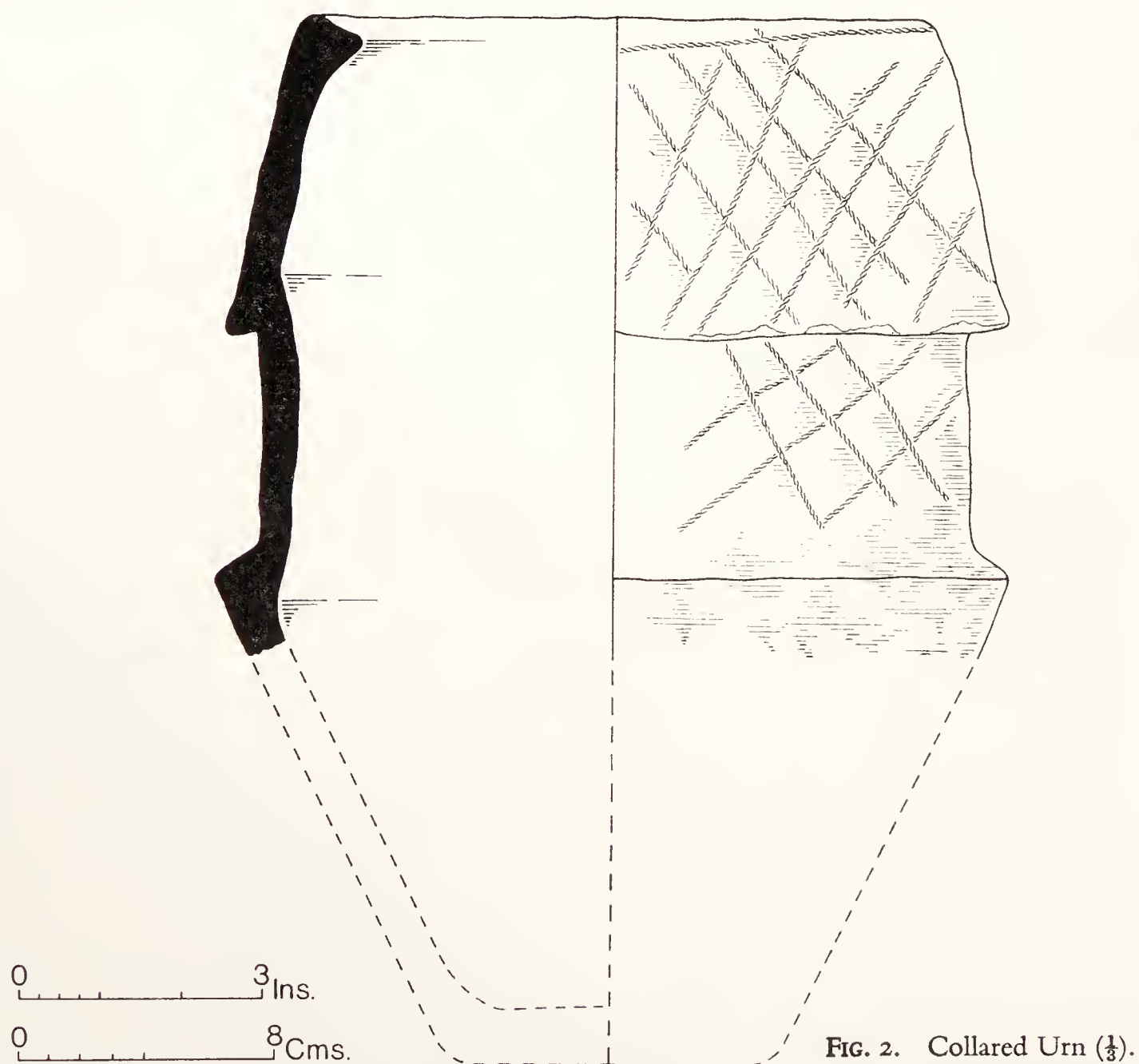
DESCRIPTION

COLLARED URN (Fig. 2)

T.M.M. Acc. no.: A.I.72. Diam. of rim: 19.8 cm. Height (remaining): 20.3 cm. Diam. of Collar: 24.7 cm. Diam. of shoulder: 25.0 cm.

Three large sherds of this vessel survive. A hard pitted, buff-brown fabric tempered with shale particles, which have fired to varying shades of brown and red, and pieces of sandstone which vary from 3 to 5 mm. in diameter. The core is black-brown and one sherd has a black inner face. Some chocolate-brown to brown-black to buff-orange patches appear on the exterior of the collar and neck.

It is decorated on the collar and neck with an unevenly produced lattice pattern of twisted cord, bordered below the rim by a single circumferential twisted cord line.



² Wrigley, A., *Saddleworth: its Prehistoric Remains*. (1911), pp. 40–44, Pl. K.

³ *Ibid.* p. 44.

MACE HEAD (Fig. 3)

T.M.M. Acc. no: A.26.58. Length (remaining): 9.5 cm. Width: 5.1 cm. Average thickness: 2.7 cm. Diam. of hole (top/bottom): 2.9 cm. Diam. of hole (centre): 0.9 cm. Weight: 192 g.

Four pieces of this hour-glass perforated Pebble Mace Head survive. The pebble, probably a glacial erratic, is a speckled greenish-brown quartzite, with traces of fire reddening along the right-hand edge between the horizontal fracture and the top.

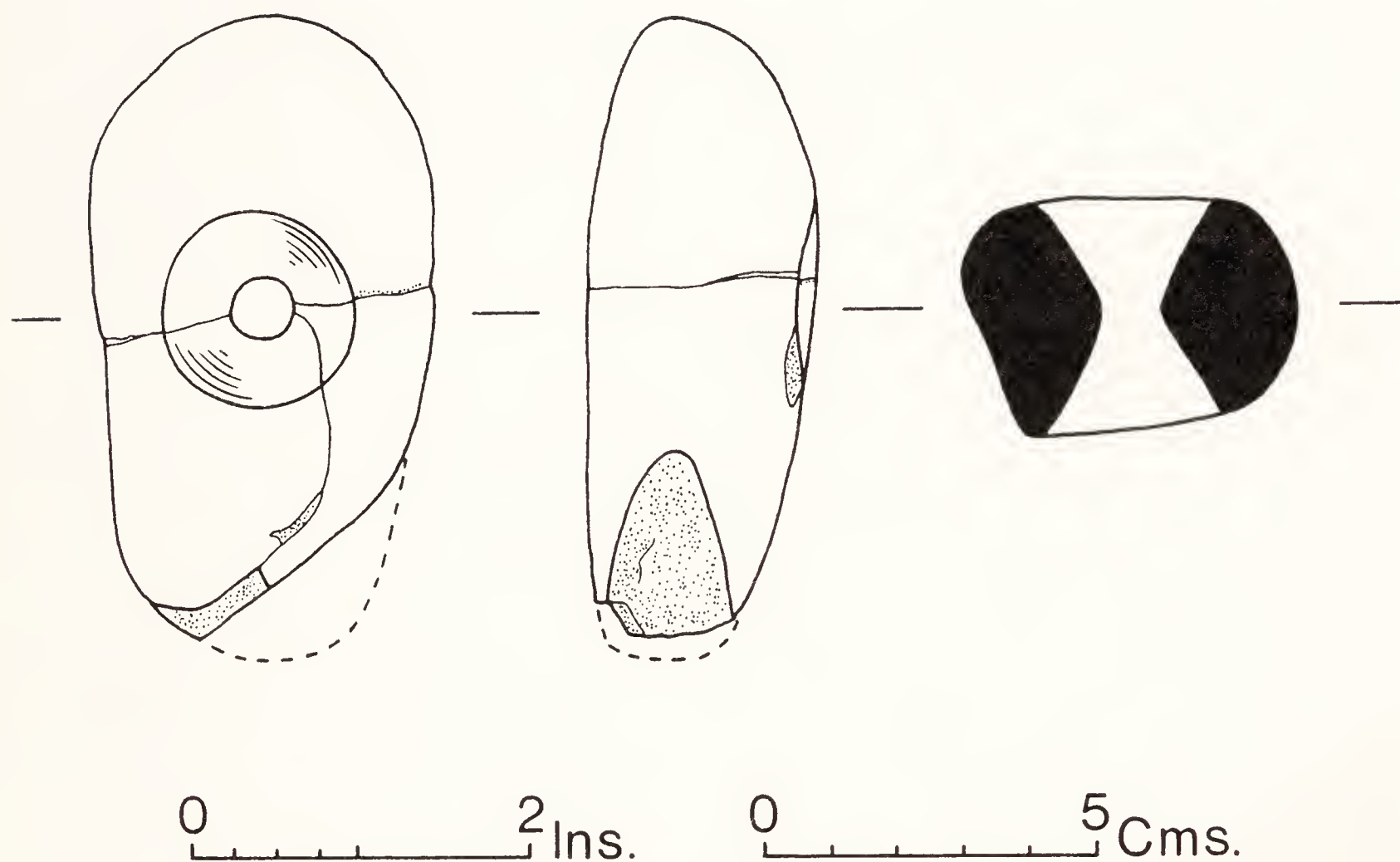


FIG. 3. Pebble Mace-Head.

DATING

In terms of conventional chronology, the Collared Urn of 'Pennine' type, a form distinguished by Varley⁴ and assigned by Longworth⁵ to his Secondary Series of Collared Urns, belongs to the beginning of the British Middle Bronze Age, about 1400 B.C. The current dating, however, of Beakers, Yorkshire Vases, Irish and Enlarged Food Vessels, Collared-Cordoned-Encrusted-Biconical Urns and Accessory Cups is based on the new dates suggested by the Bristle Cone Pine calibration for the Unetice/Wessex Culture/Irish-British Early Bronze Age of c. 2100–1700 B.C., instead of the old short Early Bronze Age of c. 1600–1400 B.C., and on the inter-relationship of pottery types, associated finds and C14 dating.⁶ This means starting our Middle Bronze Age at 1700 instead of 1400, so that it has to be extended to cover the extra three centuries.⁷

Many sites have produced different types of pottery which can be shown (either when found in the same grave or linked stratigraphically) to be contemporary. Simpson pointed out that at Mortimer's barrows Towthorpe 21, Painsthorpe 4, Garton Slack 75, and Garrowby 104, where Food Vessels occurred in the upper fill of large pit graves at the bottom of which were inhumation burials associated with Beakers, there was no reason to suspect a great lapse of time between the deposition of the burials and the filling of the

⁴ Varley, W. J., 'The Bleasdale Circle'. *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), pp. 162–6 and 169–71.

⁵ Roe and Radley 1968, p. 174.

⁶ Burgess, C. B., 'The Bronze Age'. *Current Arch.* no. 19 (1970), pp. 208–15.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 209; Renfrew, C., 'Carbon 14 and the Prehistory of Europe'. *Scientific American*. October 1971, pp. 50–63.

grave.⁸ Collared Urns of Longworth's Primary Series were contemporary with Food Vessels at Folkton, Sherburn, Ford (Greenwell nos LXX, XII and CLXXXVII) and secondary to Food Vessels at Staxton, Willerby 38, Weaponess I and East Ayton.⁹ At Harland Edge, Derbyshire, Riley found Food Vessels of Yorkshire Vase type, associated with cremation burials which were dated to 1490 ± 150 b.c. (BM.178) (uncorrected); whilst pit 3 produced a somewhat earlier date of 1750 ± 150 b.c. (BM.210), and this was thought to precede the primary burials.¹⁰ A 'Pennine' Urn was also found in part of the mound which had been robbed to the natural rock, and was presumed to be an intrusion, although the Food Vessels/Collared Urn could not be linked stratigraphically. The cremation burials at Totley gave C14 dates of 1530 ± 150 , 1250 ± 150 and 1050 ± 150 b.c. (BM.212, 211 and 177), and a timber from the Bleasdale Circle, recovered in 1901, also gave an early date of 1810 ± 90 b.c. (NPL.69). As Radley pointed out, if the date for the Bleasdale Circle is correct, and there is no reason to doubt it, and the two cremations within the circle are contemporary, it gives a very early date in our conventional Early Bronze Age for well-developed 'Pennine' Urns; this early date is corroborated by the date of 1500 ± 150 b.c. (BM.179) for burial I at Barbrook.¹¹

The Collared Urn from Harland Edge is comparable with two 'Pennine' Urns from Tower Hill, Warley near Halifax;¹² all vessels are decorated on the collar with filled triangles of twisted cord with lattice striations below on the neck, bordered on the shoulder by shallow, round-bottomed, stick impressions. Inside one of the Tower Hill urns was an Accessory Cup of Longworth's contracted mouth type¹³ and this is decorated over the whole of the exterior surface with circumferential lines of twisted cord. Accessory Cups,¹⁴ jet and amber beads, a bronze dagger and awl were found in direct association with cremation burials in 'Pennine' Urns at Blackheath, Todmorden,¹⁵ whilst an Accessory Cup, of contracted mouth type, decorated with filled triangles, and a flat bronze riveted dagger, were found with an inhumation burial in a cist at Haulgh, Bolton.¹⁶ Bu'lock related the 'Encrusted' Urn from the flat cremation cemetery at Eddisbury¹⁷ to pottery of Grooved Ware type; this urn is barrel-shaped with applied cordon and pendant bars, decorated above the cordon with hatched triangles and horizontal borders, and below with chevrons between the pendant bars, all executed in whipped cord. Longworth demonstrated that certain traits (e.g. whipped and twisted cord, cord maggot, linear incision and grooved decoration) found on the Primary Series of Collared Urns, had their origin in the Later Neolithic ceramic traditions of the Peterborough Culture.¹⁸ Indeed, certain Food Vessels of Yorkshire Vase type can be closely related to Later Neolithic pottery of vase form from sites in southern Scotland such as Hedderwick¹⁹ and Brackmont Mill²⁰ and Ford in North-

⁸ Simpson, D. D. A., 'Food Vessels; associations and chronology.' *Studies in Ancient Europe*. (Leicester 1968), pp. 201-2. Cf. Mortimer, J. R., *Forty Years' Researches in the British and Saxon Burial Mounds of E. Yorks.* (1905), pp. 11, 113, 222 and 134.

⁹ Longworth, I. H., 'The Origins and Development of the Primary Series in the Collared Urn Tradition in England and Wales'. *P.P.S.* xxvii (1961), p. 283.

¹⁰ Riley, D. N., 'An Early Bronze Age Cairn on Harland Edge, Beeley Moor, Derbyshire'. *D.A.J.* lxxxvi (1966), p. 44.

¹¹ Radley, J., 'A Bronze Age Ring-Work on Totley Moor and other Bronze Age Ring-Works in the Pennines'. *Arch. J.* cxxiii (1966), p. 22.

¹² Gilks, J. A., 'Two Middle Bronze Age Cinerary Urns from Tower Hill, Warley, W. R.'. *Y.A.J.* xlii (1968), pp. 119-20, Figs. 1 and 2.

¹³ Watson, J., and Leyland, F. A., *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax*. 2nd ed. (1868), pp. 58-9; Accessory cup re-published by the writer: Gilks, J. A., 'Bronze Age Pottery and a Basal-Looped Spearhead from West Yorkshire'. *Y.A.J.* xlv (1973), pp. 176-78, Fig. 4. 3.

¹⁴ Longworth, I. H., 'Contracted Mouth Accessory Cups'. *British Mus. Quart.* xxi (1967), pp. 111-22.

¹⁵ Russel, J., in Ling Roth, H., *The Yorkshire Coiners*. (1906), pp. 307-22, Figs. 222-33.0

¹⁶ Bu'lock, J. D., 'The Bronze Age in the North-West'. *T. Lancs. & Ches. A. S.* vol. 71 (1961), Fig. III, 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 32, Fig. V. 1.

¹⁸ Longworth 1961, pp. 264-73.

¹⁹ Callander, J. G., 'Scottish Neolithic Pottery'. *P.S.A.S.* lxiii (1928-9), p. 67f.

²⁰ Longworth, I. H., Candow, R. D. M., Crearar, R., and Henderson, D., 'Further Discoveries at Brackmont Mill, Brackmont Farm and Tentsmuir, Fife', *P.S.A.S.* xcix (1966-1967), p. 67.

umberland.²¹

It is beyond the scope of this note to enter into a detailed discussion of the inter-relationship of the various types of pottery found in the Early and Middle Bronze Age periods, or to assign dated examples to the new long Early-Middle Bronze Ages suggested by the Bristle Cone Pine Calibration. The examples cited do, however, illustrate that there is considerable overlap of pottery types, and that the old chest-of-drawers classification has had to be abandoned.

²¹ Longworth, I. H., 'Five Sherds from Ford, Northumberland, and their Relative Date', *Y.A.J.* xlii (1969) pp. 258-61, Fig. 1.

BRONZE AXES FROM CALDERDALE

BY RAYMOND A. VARLEY

Summary A previously unpublished flat axe from Hipperholme, part of the collection from Bankfield Museum, Halifax, is now on permanent loan to the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, together with the entire remaining archaeological collection from Bankfield Museum. The Wakefield Museum possesses three Bronze Age axes found in the region, which form part of the prehistoric display. They were individual finds of different types and have previously escaped publication. A hoard recovered near Smalley Bight Farm and another axe found at Sandal Magna are now preserved in Leeds City Museum. In the light of recent research it seems appropriate to record these finds in detail.

HIPPERHOLME Flat axe (Fig. 1)

This axe was found whilst constructing a section of the turnpike road from Leeds to Halifax in about 1824.¹ It is likely that the site was in the White Hall Road area, as the Wakefield Road Minute Book refers to the new road from Leeds as connecting with this road at Whitehall in October 1824.² This suggests that the site was in the area of Hipperholme (SE 128259), 3 miles north-east of Halifax and 2½ miles north-west of Brighouse. The Halifax to Leeds turnpike road of about 1824 goes through Hipperholme as White Hall Road (A58 (T)), then continues through Farnley into Leeds.

The axe is complete, 7.6 cm in length, width of cutting edge 4.9 cm, width of butt 2.0 cm, and weighs 141.75 gm. It is in good condition; the surfaces have been left rather rough and irregular, have a greenish-brown patina and are pitted in places. The cutting edge is outsplayed, the sides slightly concave, the butt thin and slightly rounded. The faces of the axe slope up from both butt and cutting edge to produce a lozenge-shaped profile when seen from the side.

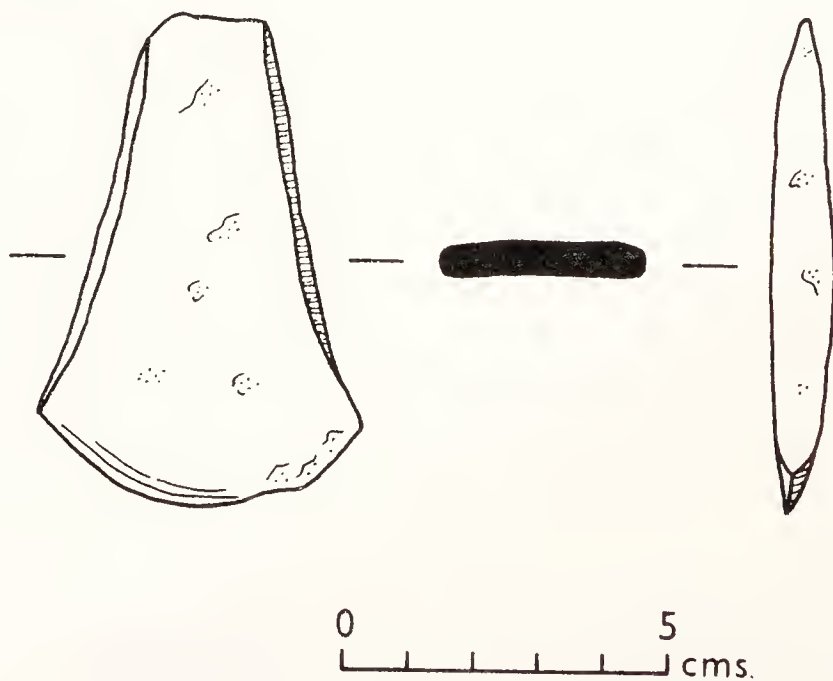


FIG. 1. Early flat axe from Hipperholme. (½).

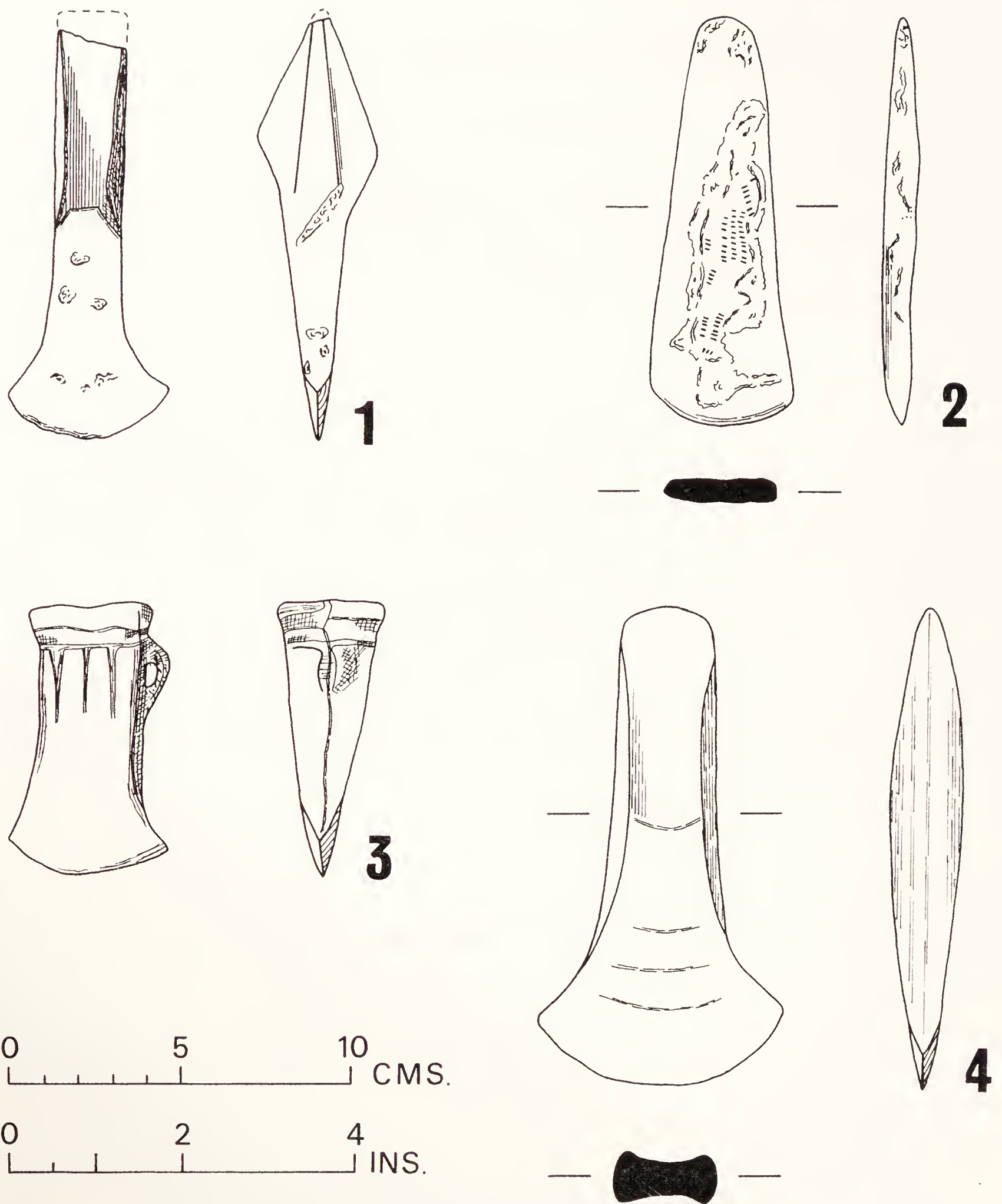
KETTLETHORPE Flat Axe (Fig. 2.2)

This axe, found in 1956 by Mr. F. Ward, was previously catalogued and listed under Painthorpe; further study by the writer revealed the site as Woodmoor Road, Kettlethorpe (SE 333165).³ Kettlethorpe is situated 3½ miles south-west of Wakefield with the Owler Beck flowing through it, at an altitude of about 160 ft. O.D.

¹ Information from the accession book A.H.W. 103.

² Turnpike Roads from Leeds to Halifax and the several Branches, *Road Acts of Parliament 1741-1856* (1825 section), p. 4361.

³ Speak, H., and Forrester, J., *An Outline History of Wakefield* (1971), p. 8, Fig. A. The writer is grateful to Mr. H. Speak for information on this axe.

FIG. 2. Bronze Age axes from the Wakefield area. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

The axe is in a fragile condition and most of the decorated surface has flaked off. The cutting edge is badly ribbed, the sides slightly concave, the butt thin and rounded. The faces of the axe slope up from both butt and cutting edge to produce a lozenge profile when seen from the side. The decoration consists of irregular lines of herringbone patterns cut with a chisel-edged punch. The surfaces are rough where the decoration has been chipped off and have a greenish-brown patina. The length is 12 cm, the width of the cutting edge is 4.3 cm, the width of the butt 1.6 cm, and the weight is 184.18 gm.

LAKE LOCK, STANLEY Wing-flanged axe (Fig. 2.1)

The axe was found at Lake Lock in July 1869, but the exact location is not recorded.⁴ Lake Lock is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of Wakefield, on the east side of the River Calder at an altitude of about 75 ft. O.D. (SE 358241).

This wing-flanged axe has a rudimentary stop-ridge at the lower end of the angular flanges which extend down from the butt. The ridge is very low and it is doubtful if it could have been very effective. The total length from the outplayed blade to the broken side of the butt is 12 cm, the width of the cutting edge is 4.7 cm, the width of the butt is 2.1 cm, the greatest width of the flanges is 3.6 cm, and the weight is 226.8 gm. The surfaces have a greenish-brown patina and are pitted in places. The cutting edge is outplayed and rounded at the tips. The sides have angular flanges with two lines starting from the butt and running to the lower end of the flanges, forming a V-shape. This axe is in good condition, but broken on the sides of the butt.

SANDAL MAGNA Flanged axe (Fig. 2.4)

There are no details on this axe, except that it was found at Sandal Magna—the exact site is not recorded.⁵ Sandal Magna is situated $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Wakefield on the east side of the River Calder at an altitude of about 150 ft. O.D. (SE 343184).

The total length is 14.2 cm, the width of the cutting edge is 7.1 cm, the width of the butt is 2.8 cm, and the weight is 406.9 gm. The cutting edge is widely splayed and sharp, the sides straight and the butt rounded. Both faces and blades have bands of hammer rippling decoration. The whole axe is in perfect condition.

SMALLEY BIGHT Hoard (Fig. 3)

The hoard of bronze axes was dredged up from a gravel bed in the River Calder below Smalley Bight Farm, near Stanley Ferry.⁶ The site is 3 miles north-east of Wakefield at an altitude of about 50 ft. O.D. (SE 356228).

The hoard was presented to Leeds City Museum in 1914 by Mr. W. H. Bartholomew. It comprised eleven bronze implements: seven 'Yorkshire' three-ribbed socketed axes, a wing-flanged axe, two palstaves (one looped with an outplayed blade) and a bronze object with a bearded man's head delineated on it. Drawings were made of the complete hoard by Mr. A. H. Sharp; Walker only illustrated two, the looped palstave and a 'Yorkshire' three-ribbed socketed axe.⁷ Both are now lost and these illustrations are the only record of them. Part of the hoard was destroyed when Leeds City Museum was bombed during the last war,⁸ and only six implements survive.

Four 'Yorkshire' Three-ribbed Socketed Axes

These axes are complete with nearly square sockets. The patina is little injured and the cutting edges are sharp. The axes are in good condition and have on each face three vertical ribs extending down from the collar and into the face of the blade.

1. This is 8.1 cm long, the width of the cutting edge is 5.4 cm, and the weight is 234.6 gm. The surfaces are coated with a thin greenish-brown patina.
2. This axe is pitted in places with the surfaces coated with a greenish-brown patina. The length is 8.1 cm, the width of the cutting edge is 4.4 cm, and the weight is 170.1 gm.

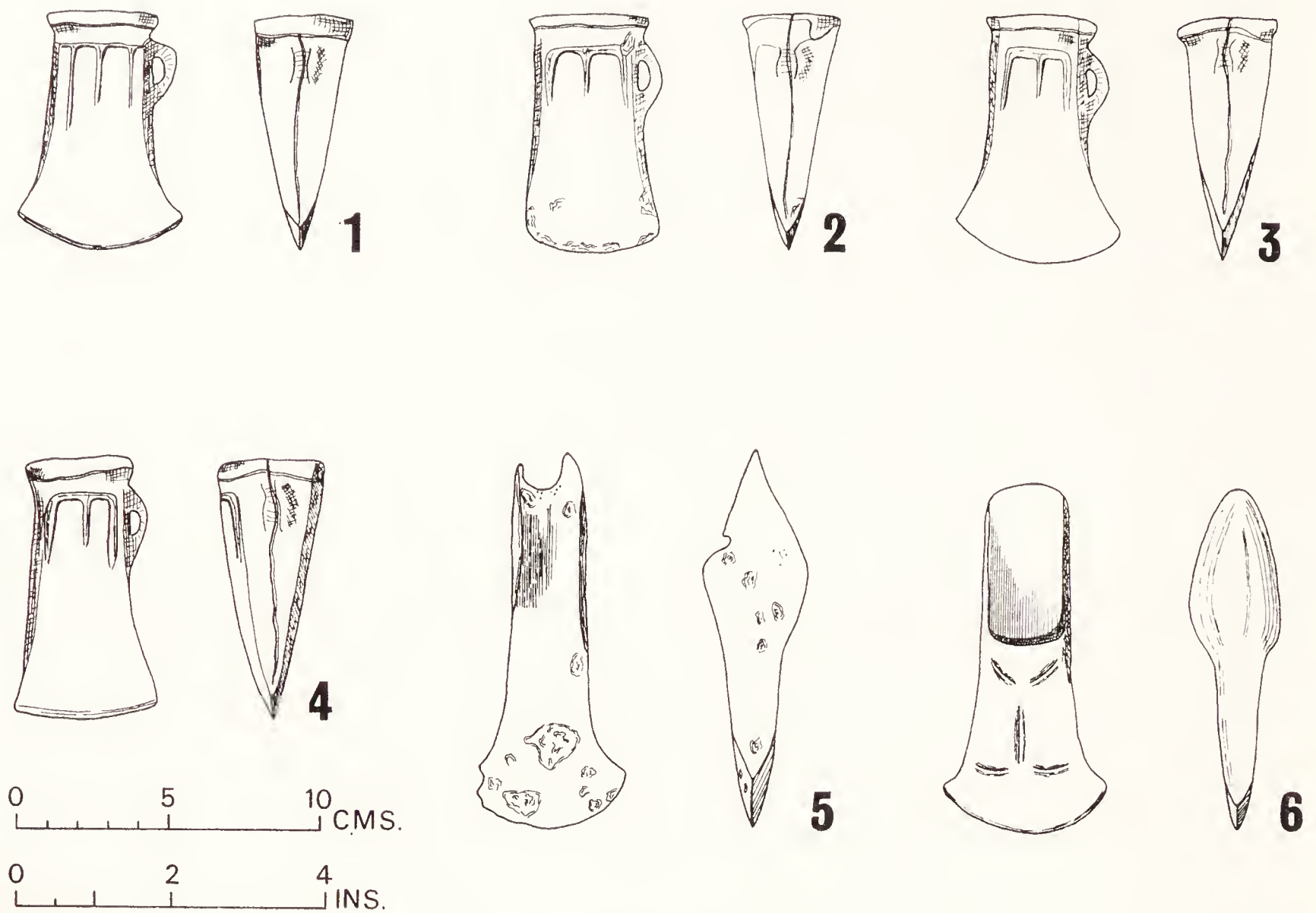
⁴ Walker, J. W., *Wakefield, its History and its People* (1934), p. 15, Fig. 13; the reduction, scale and section are omitted in the illustration.

⁵ Megan, B. R. S., and Hardy, E. M., 'British Decorated Axes and their Diffusion during the Earlier Part of the Bronze Age', *P.P.S.*, iv (1938), pp. 283–5, Fig. 12.

⁶ Walker (1934), p. 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Fig. 15; the scale and reduction are omitted in the illustrations.

⁸ Raistrick, A., 'The Bronze Age in West Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.*, xxix (1929), p. 359, Fig. 7.

FIG. 3. The Smalley Bight Hoard. ($\frac{1}{3}$)

3. The total length is 8.2 cm, the width of the cutting edge is 5.4 cm, and the weight is 241.7 gm. The surfaces are coated with a thin greenish patina.
4. This is 8.8 cm long, the width of the cutting edge is 4.6 cm, and the weight is 234.6 gm. Golden metal shows in places through the dark patina.

Wing-flanged Axe (Fig. 3.5)

The total length from the unbroken side of the butt to the outplayed blade is 12.2 cm, the width of the cutting edge is 4.9 cm, the width of the butt is 2 cm. the greatest width of the flange is 3.5 cm, the weight is 297.7 gm. The surfaces have a greenish patina and are pitted in places. The cutting edge is broken on one side and is outplayed and rounded on the other side. The sides have angular flanges, but the butt is broken on one side.

Palstave (Fig. 3.6)

This is 11.4 cm, long, the width of the cutting edge is 5.4 cm, the width of the butt is 2.6 cm, the greatest width of the flanges is 2.9 cm, and the weight is 283.5 gm. The axe is in good condition with the golden metal showing in places through the greenish-brown patina. The cutting edge is rounded at the tips and the butt is rounded.

WELBECK Socketed axe (Fig. 2.3)

This was found in 1960 by I. Stuart and L. Pacey near the Weir, Welbeck Gravel Pits.⁹ The site (SE 361213) is between the Aire and Calder Navigation new cut and the River Calder, 2½ miles north-east of Wakefield, at an altitude of about 75 ft. O.D.

This socketed axe is 14.9 cm long, the width of the cutting edge is 8.6 cm and the weight is 170.1 gm. On each face are three vertical ribs hanging down from the collar. It is in good condition and the surfaces are coated with a thin greenish patina.

⁹ The writer is indebted to Mr. F. H. G. Montagu-Puckle, Verulamium Museum, for information on this axe.

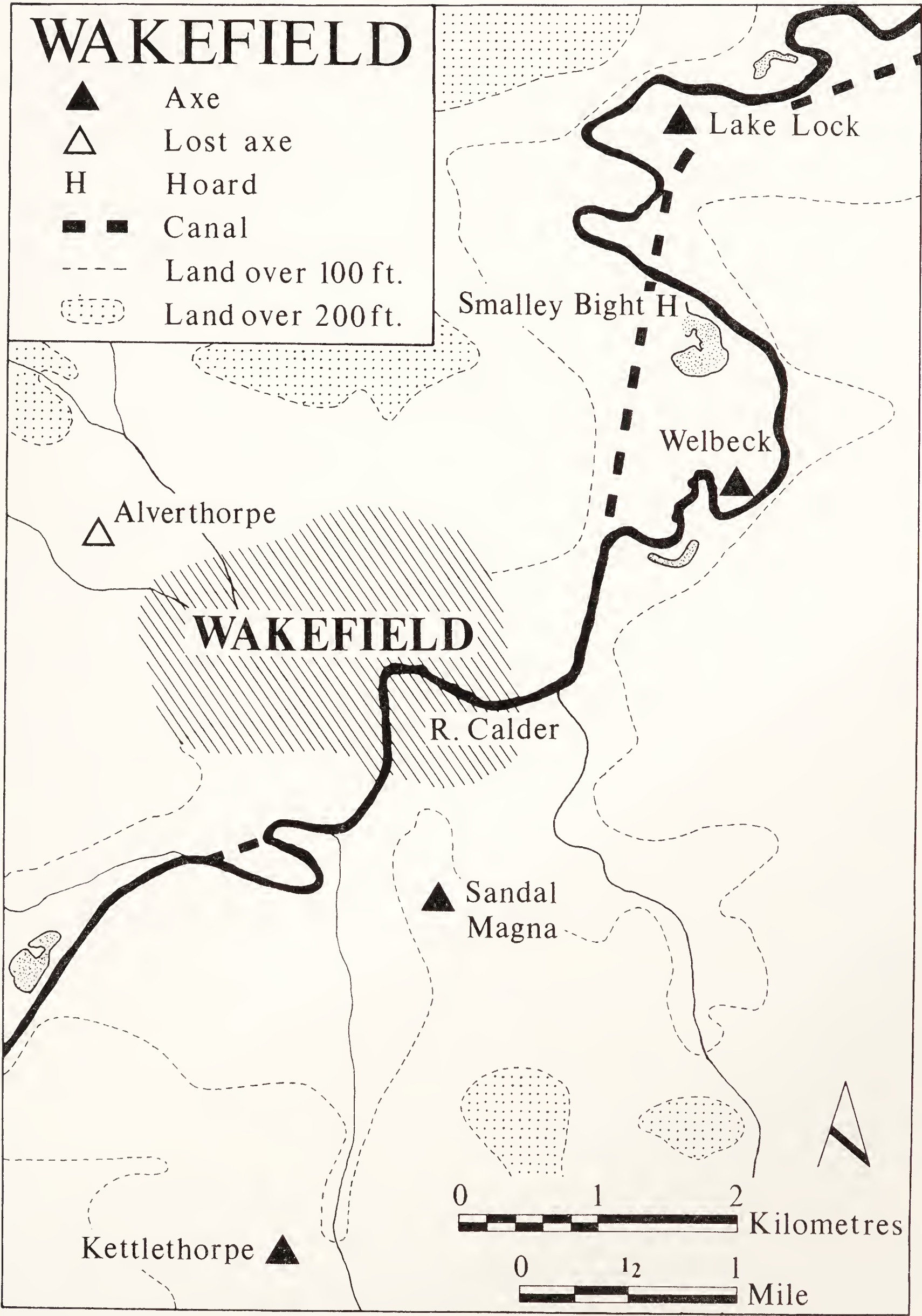


FIG. 4. The location of Bronze Age axes from the Wakefield area.

DISCUSSION

The assemblage of Bronze Age axes collected from both sides of the Calder where it flows through Wakefield confirms the Bronze Age occupation of the south-east flank of Calderdale (Fig. 4). There is further evidence from Woodnook, where a decorated halberd was found while constructing a canal lock in 1842,¹⁰ and at Oulton gravel pit an incense cup was found in 1873 with two urn fragments decorated with lattice striation, finds now lost.¹¹ In 1842 a bronze palstave was found at Lindle Hill near Alverthorpe.¹² Lindle Hill is 2½ miles north-west of Wakefield on the south side of Balne Beck at about 150 ft. O.D. (SE 308219). This axe was recorded by Walker but has since been lost.¹³ Stone axe-hammers usually attributed to the Bronze Age have also been found in the region at Denby Dale Road and Woolley Edge,¹⁴ while tanged and barbed flint arrowheads have been recovered locally from Stanley, Upton and Hall Green.

The classification and distribution of bronze axes in the Calder valley and West Yorkshire were mapped by Raistrick in 1929 and by Watson in 1952,¹⁵ showing the main concentration as extending from Tadcaster on the Wharfe, across by Bramham to Leeds, west and north-west by the Aire valley to the Ribble, and stretching north-west from York by way of the Ure valley. In Calderdale the distribution is concentrated on the east side. The decorated flat axe from Kettlethorpe (Fig. 2.2) is attributed to the Migdale Industry¹⁶ and belongs to Manby's sub-group (ii) with lozenge profile.¹⁷ This axe is the only one of its type from Calderdale and dates from the period 2000–1400 B.C., as suggested by Burgess.¹⁸ Only two flanged axes have been found in the Calder valley, at Sandal Magna (Fig. 2.4) and on Rishworth Moor on the south-west side;¹⁹ these can be assigned to the Arreton tradition, dated c. 1550/1500–1400 B.C.²⁰ In Calderdale wing-flanged axes, palstaves and socketed axes have been found in hoards and at several localities. The principal surviving evidence for Bronze Age occupation in the Calder valley consists of round barrows,²¹ stone circles,²² unmarked burials, pottery, flint, stone and bronze tools. It is very unfortunate that a considerable amount of these finds have been lost since they were recorded.

The recent Bronze Age finds and research in Calderdale present an opportunity to review the Bronze Age cultural material collected from the central part of the Pennine Coalfield range during the last century (Fig. 5). There are no proven remains of barrows in this region, but there are several unmarked burials. At Raistrick twenty urns are recorded as having been found on opening a quarry in 1797; unfortunately none have survived.²³ Three decorated collared urns of 'Pennine' type were found at Skircoat prior to 1775; one urn has since been lost.²⁴ From Tower Hill, Warley, about five urns, a pottery lid and an

¹⁰ Bowman, W., *Reliquiae Antiquae Eboracenses* (1855), pp. 39–40; Burgess, C., 'Bronze Age Dirks and Rapiers as illustrated by Examples from Durham and Northumberland', *T.A. & A.S. Durham and Northumberland*, n.s. I (1968) Fig. 3.1, p. 10.

¹¹ Walker (1934), p. 15.

¹² Watson, G. C., *Early Man in the Halifax District* (1952), p. 82. App. E.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁴ Speak and Forrester (1971), p. 8. The first axe is in H. Speak's possession.

¹⁵ Raistrick (1929), 359–60, Fig. 7; Watson (1952), pp. 47–59, Map G.

¹⁶ Britton, D., 'Traditions of Metal-Working in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Britain: Part I', *P.P.S.*, xxix (1963), pp. 270–3, Fig. 4.

¹⁷ Manby, T. G., 'Early Bronze Age Axes from Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.*, xli (1965), p. 347.

¹⁸ Burgess, C., 'The Bronze Age', *Current Archaeology*, II (1970), pp. 208–15.

¹⁹ Wrigley, A., *Saddleworth, its Prehistoric Remains* (1911), pp. 19–20, Pl. 6.

²⁰ Britton (1963), 284–97, Pl. xxvii.

²¹ Russel, J. L. in Ling Roth, H., *The Yorkshire Coiners and Notes on Old and Pre-historic Halifax* (1906), pp. 307–22.

²² Longbotham, A. T., 'Prehistoric Remains in Barkisland', *Halifax Arch. Soc. Trans.* (1932), p. 153.

²³ *Leeds Mercury*, 23 Nov. 1797. Parsons, W. and White, W., *Annals, History and Guide of Leeds, York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire*, Vol. I (1830), p. 187.

²⁴ Varley, R. A., 'Bronze Age Finds from Skircoat, Halifax', *Y.A.J.* xlv (1973), pp. 173–4, Fig. 3, 1–2. Watson, J., *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax* (1775), Plate 4, 3. In terms of conventional chronology the Collared Urn of 'Pennine' type was a form distinguished by Varley, W. J., 'The Bleasdale Circle', *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), pp. 162–6, and 169–71, and assigned by Longworth, I. H. in Pacitto, A. L., 'The Excavation of Two Bronze Age Burial Mounds at Ferry Fryston in the West Riding of Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* xlii (1969), pp. 300–4, to his Secondary Series of Collared Urns.

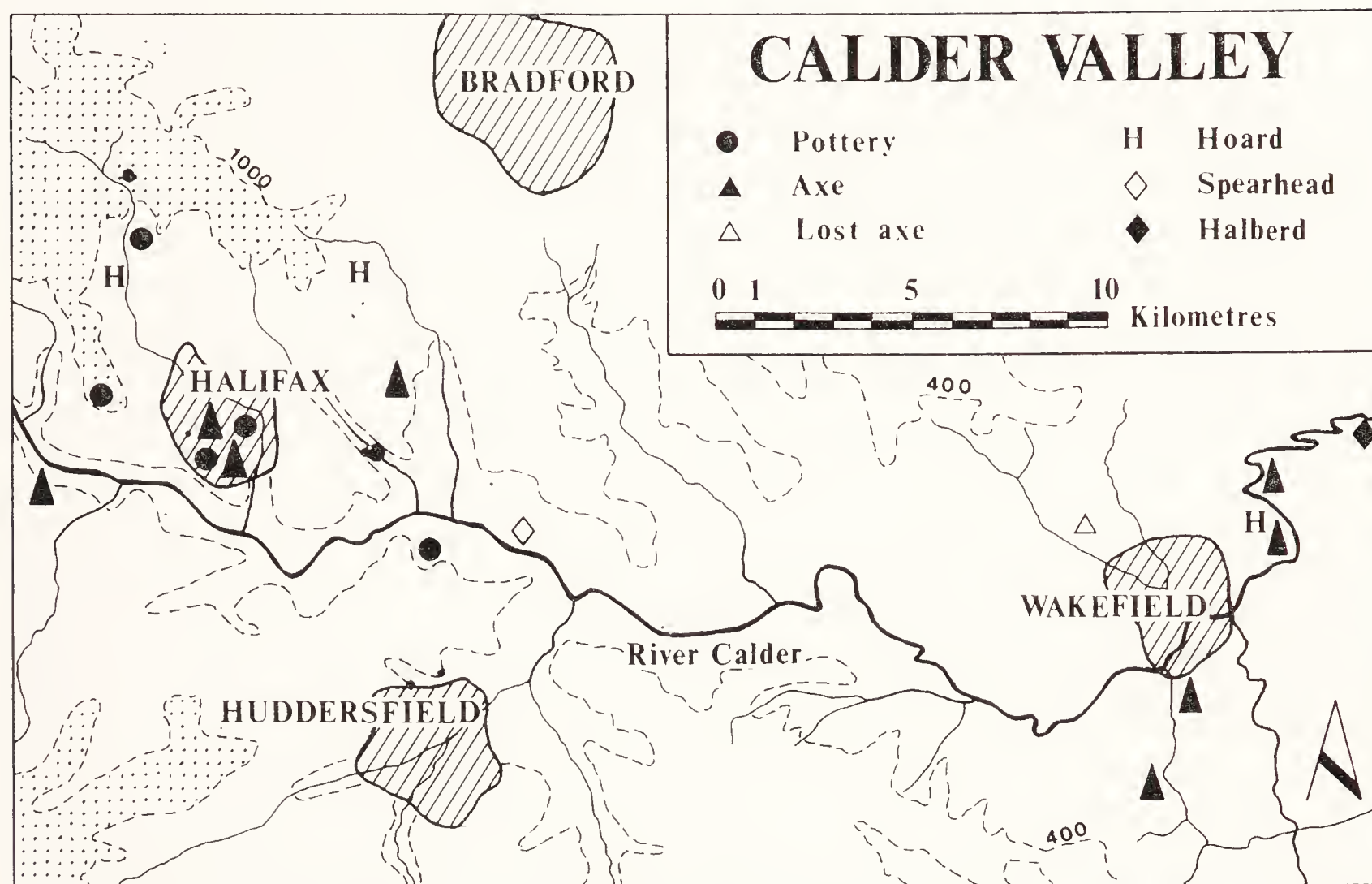


FIG. 5. Bronze Age occupation in the Calder Valley.

accessory cup were discovered whilst quarrying in 1848,²⁵ but only two decorated collared urns of 'Pennine' type and the cup have been preserved.²⁶ A large collared urn of the Primary Series²⁷ was discovered in a stone cist at Mount Zion Chapel, Ogden in 1877.²⁸ A decorated food vessel of Type 1a (ii) was found near Halifax last century but details of the discovery are not recorded.²⁹

The Bronze Age axes and spearheads are again found on the dry ridges and river banks. At Brighouse a straight-based, basal-looped spearhead of the Wallington tradition³⁰ was discovered within 30 m of a meander loop of the River Calder in 1969.³¹ Prior to 1775 a winged-flanged axe was found at Skircoat³² and a looped palstave of the Wallington tradition was found during last century at Sowerby but no further details are known.³³ On Mixenden Moor a countryman digging peat prior to 1816 found a hoard of implements consisting of a palstave, four barbed and tanged arrowheads of black flint, a polished stone axe, a stone axe-hammer head and a gouge. Whittaker illustrates all these except one arrowhead.³⁴ The contents and their appearance suggest a homesteader's possessions rather than a merchant's hoard. The palstave is of special interest as it might place the hoard in an

²⁵ Watson, J. and Leyland, F. A., *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax* (1868), 2nd. ed., pp. 58-9.

²⁶ Gilks, J. A., 'Two Middle Bronze Age Cinerary Urns from Tower Hill Warley, W.R.' *Y.A.J.* xlii (1968), pp. 119-20, Figs. 1, 2, and 'Bronze Age Pottery and a Basal-Looped Spearhead from West Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* xlv (1973), pp. 176-7, Fig. 4, 3.

²⁷ Longworth, I. H., 'The Origins and Development of the Primary Series in the Collared Urn Tradition in England and Wales', *P.P.S.* xxvii (1961), p. 300.

²⁸ Varley, R. A., 'A Collared Urn from Ogden, W.R.' *Y.A.J.* xlii (1968), pp. 126-7, Fig. 1.

²⁹ Manby, T. G., 'Bronze Age Pottery from Pule Hill, Marsden, W.R. Yorkshire and Footed Vessels of the Early Bronze Age from England', *Y.A.J.* xlii (1969), p. 279. Fig. 1, 6.

³⁰ Burgess, C., *Bronze Age Metalwork in Northern England* (1968), pp. 29-36.

³¹ Gilks (1973), *op. cit.* in n. 26, p. 179, Fig. 3, 4.

³² Varley, *op. cit.* in n. 24, p. 173-4, Fig. 3, 3.

³³ Ling Roth, *op. cit.* in n. 21, pp. 296-7, Fig. 200.

³⁴ Whittaker, T. D., *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), pp. 373-4.

Early-Middle Bronze Age context. From Shelf a hoard of eight looped palstaves and spear-heads of the Wallington tradition were discovered in 1856 whilst quarrying.³⁵ A decorated socketed axe is recorded as having been found in the parish of Halifax but no further details are given.³⁶ The flat axe found in the Hipperholme area (Fig. 4) is assigned to the thin-butted type, which has its greatest distribution in Ireland. In Yorkshire Manby lists a further six examples of this type of axe, from Bawtry on the magnesian limestone belt of the foothills of the Pennines, from Beverley, Driffild and Scackleton on the Yorkshire Wolds, and one from the moors near Scarborough.³⁷ The Yorkshire Museum collection has a thin-butted axe but without a site reference. A new date for these thin-butted axes is suggested by C. Burgess—Early Bronze Age, 2000–1400 B.C.³⁸

Both Raistrick and Watson discuss trade routes based on the Bronze Age material collected from West Yorkshire, including food vessels, collared urns and pygmy cups etc., which are no longer considered as representing distinct chronological phases from the Early to Middle Bronze Age but as being broadly contemporary, whereas the bronzes represent distinct chronological phases. It has been suggested that the Aire Gap route might have been used for importing metal implements from Ireland,³⁹ and Radley demonstrated by the presence of Irish gold ornaments in East Yorkshire and of the numerous bronze hoards in the Vale of York that the moraine was probably part of a well defined east-west trade route from Irish metal sources to East Yorkshire and the Continent.⁴⁰ The Yorkshire river system and the Escrick and York moraines would have provided easy access routes from the Wold settlements to the magnesian limestone hills flanking the eastern side of the Pennine range, always a major line of communication. The movement westwards from the Yorkshire Wolds has been suggested by Varley and Jackson as having coincided with the beginning of dry conditions and of a search for new localities.⁴¹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is indebted to Mr. E. Toulson of the Wakefield Museum for making the axes in the museum available for study, and for permission to publish them, to Mr. C. M. Mitchell, Director of the City Museum, Leeds, for granting permission to publish the Sandal Magna axe and the Smalley Bight hoard, and to Miss Elizabeth Pirie of the Leeds City Museum for making the axes available for study. He is also grateful to Mr. R. A. Innes, Director of Bankfield Museum, Halifax, for granting permission to publish an account of the Hipperholme axe. The writer is also deeply indebted to Mr. T. G. Manby of Doncaster Museum for his assistance and advice on the interpretation of this report.

³⁵ Burgess, *op. cit.* in n. 30, pp. 62–3, Fig. 6, 1–11. Ling Roth, *op. cit.* in n. 21, p. 297, Figs. 201–4.

³⁶ Watson, *op. cit.* in n. 12, p. 82.

³⁷ Manby, T. G., 'Early Bronze Age Axes from Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* xli (1965), pp. 346–7, Appendix 1.

³⁸ The writer is indebted to Mr. Colin Burgess for this information on thin-butted axes, in advance of his publication.

³⁹ Manby, *op. cit.* in n. 37, p. 346. Elgee, F. and H. W., *The Archaeology of Yorkshire* (1933), p. 63, Fig. 10.

⁴⁰ Radley, J., 'The Prehistory of the Vale of York'. *Y.A.J.* xlvi (1974) pp. 12, 22.

⁴¹ Varley, W. J. and Jackson, J. W., *Prehistoric Cheshire* (1940), pp. 49–50.

RESCUE EXCAVATIONS IN THE CRYPT OF RIPON CATHEDRAL

BY R. A. HALL

Summary Excavation at the east end of the north passage of Ripon Cathedral's crypt demonstrated that a blocked stairway, now removed, was an integral part of the structure built by Bishop Wilfrid A.D. 671-8.

INTRODUCTION

In October 1974 work started on a scheme to construct a display area for diocesan plate within the crypt of Ripon Cathedral and simultaneously a vault was dug in the north transept (see Appendix I). A crypt was built here in A.D. 671-8 at the instigation of Wilfrid¹ and the existing fabric, with the exception of the western part of the southern passage, is generally accepted as dating from this period. It is comparable in many respects to Wilfrid's contemporary work at Hexham. As safety regulations required the making of a second exit from the crypt, the Dean and Chapter decided to remove the 'blocking' at the eastern end of the northern passage, and to cut through the short distance to a modern shaft which was built to contain organ pipes, but into which a spiral staircase could be inserted (Fig. 1). Although the 'blocking' is described as '4 shelves' on the specification for the work, architectural historians from Micklethwaite to the present have considered that it comprised the lower part of an original stairway.²

A chance visit by the writer at an early stage in the operations, by which time parts of several of the steps had already been cut away, ultimately led to the Department of the Environment underwriting the cost of rescue excavation. This involved the destruction of the remaining steps in tunnelling through to the modern shaft, and the recording of the details of construction thus revealed. The work was undertaken by staff of the York Archaeological Trust.

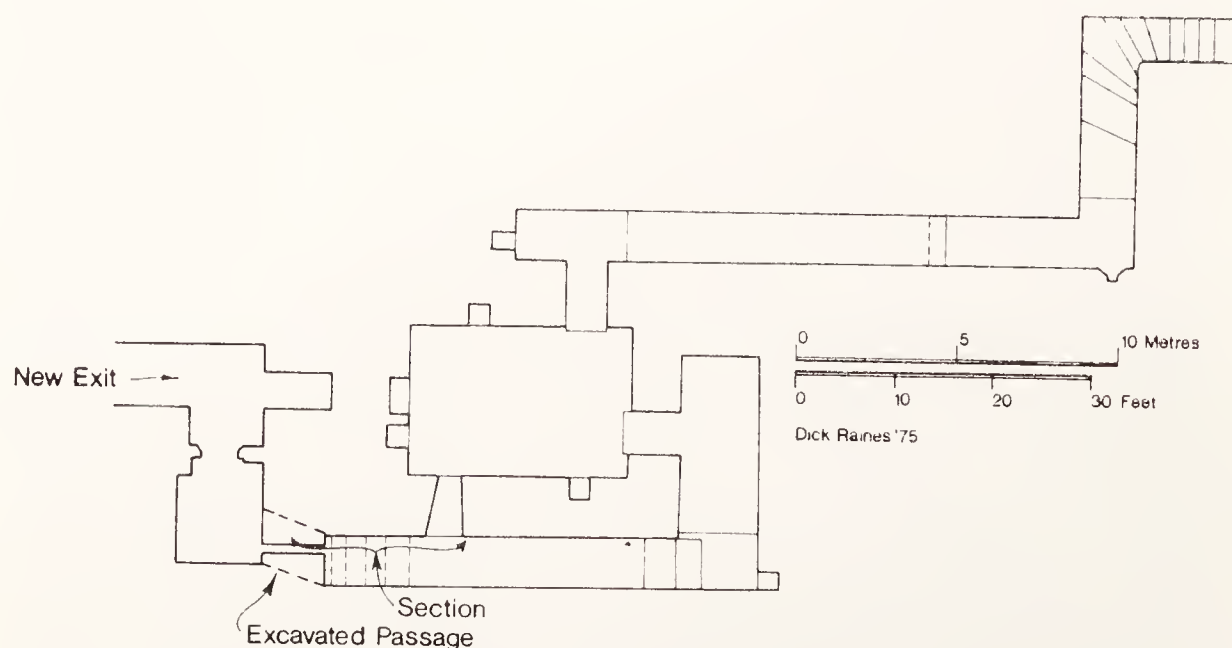


FIG. 1. Ripon Cathedral: plan of the crypt, showing the position of the recent excavation.
(North at foot of plan.)

¹ Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, chapter xvii.

² J. T. Micklethwaite, 'On the crypts at Hexham and Ripon', *Arch. J.* xxxix (1882), pp. 347-54. H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Cambridge 1965), p. 561f and works there cited.

THE STRUCTURE

Before excavation started, the exposed surfaces of the steps were covered by plaster, blackened on the outside but white in fracture. This gave the appearance that each step was a single block of stone, whereas two blocks laid side by side were actually used. This technique is also seen in the steps at the west end of the north passage, and again in the remains of two steps, presumably part of the original structure, visible in the modern concrete floor approximately midway along the south passage. It seems therefore to have been the standard method of step building employed at Ripon, but contrasts with the work at Hexham, where a single block is the norm. The lowest step had been almost totally removed at an unknown date, probably when the easternmost lamp niche in the north wall of the crypt's main chamber was cut through to the north passage, and enlarged to form St. Wilfrid's Needle.

The height of individual steps varied from 25 to 41 cm: the tallest step was exceptional in that it was made of two superimposed courses of two stones each. The steepness of the whole flight is well paralleled in the western entry to the Hexham crypt.



FIG. 2. Ripon Cathedral crypt: section through steps at the east end of the north passage.

THE EXCAVATION

The treads of the steps were found to have been set into the wall for distances varying from 4 to 14 cm. They were held in position by an extremely resilient mortar, dull red in colour. This mortar generally forms a seating for each step, and also provides a firm backing, reinforced in places by blocks of stone (Fig. 2). Thin bands of brown sandy silt, varying slightly in colour and texture, and running approximately parallel to the treads of several of the steps, divide the mortar backing. They may be interpreted as the vestiges of debris, accumulating in what was possibly an open cut, between each phase of the step-building operation.

Clear evidence of the original excavation for the crypt was obtained in the form of a cut into the predominantly sandy natural deposits (Fig. 3). Nearly vertical in its upper parts, the cut rounded off to run approximately 20 cm below the level of the present concrete floor in the north passage. In plan, its east end ran at a slight angle from north-north-east to south-south-west. The basal 20 cm were filled with a mid-dark reddish-brown gritty sand, incorporating some small stones and cobbles. Stratigraphically, the deposition of this material must precede the construction of the steps, and it seems to represent a back-filling of the cut up to the level planned for the passage floor, providing also a firm seating for it. However no indication of the original surface of the passage floor survives, nor was there any trace of an old ground surface in the limited section exposed.

As the steps were inserted, their backing of mortar and stones was gradually added in conjunction with the filling of the remainder of the cut with a reddish-brown sand matrix containing many small stones and cobbles. Tip lines of this material are demarcated in section (Fig. 2), both by mortar trails behind the stones, and by horizontal spreads of stone and cobble.

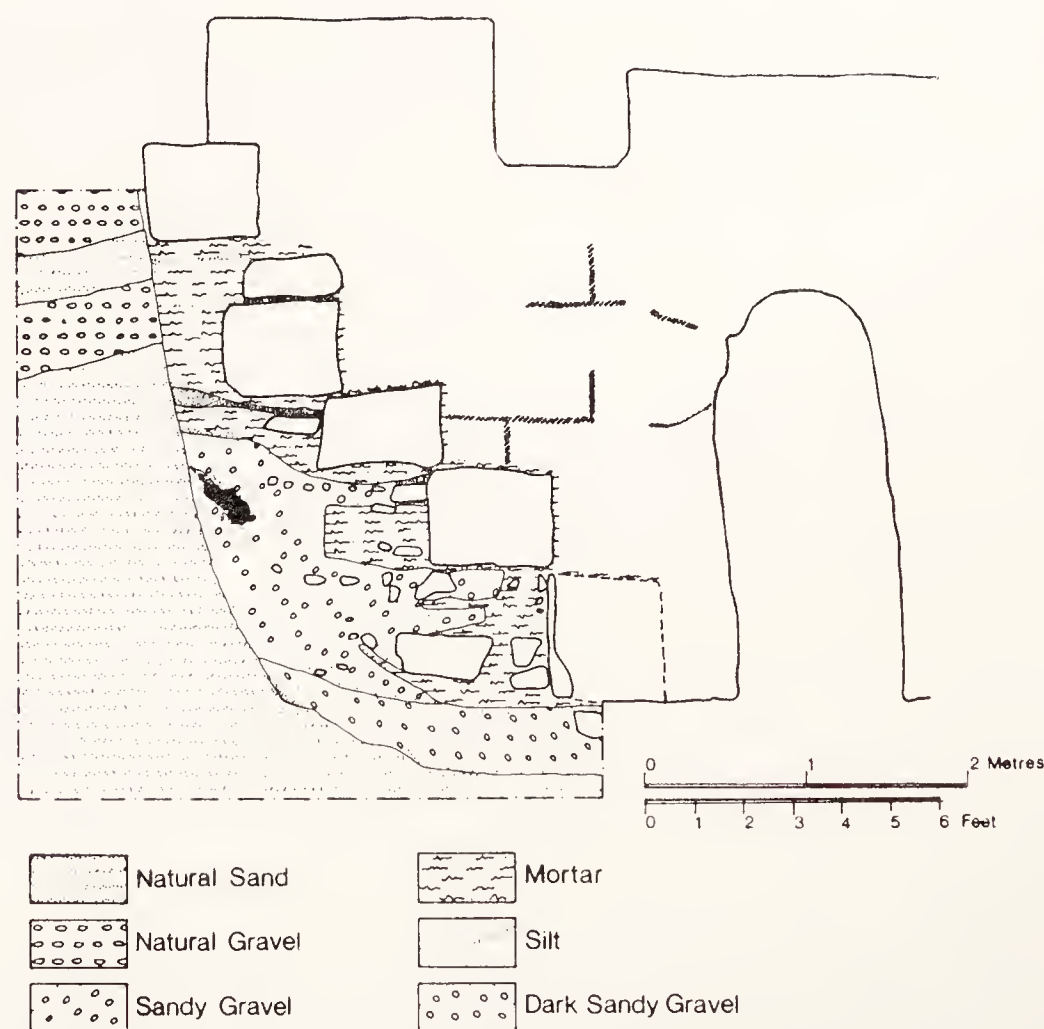


FIG. 3. Ripon Cathedral crypt: section at the east end of the north passage.

BUILDING MATERIALS

Mr. J. Evans (Department of Chemistry, North-East London Polytechnic) has inspected mortar samples taken from behind and between the steps. The aggregate was either of a Millstone Grit series, or, more probably, of a Middle Jurassic Deltaic sandstone series.

Dr. N. G. Berridge and Mr. K. S. Siddiqui (Department of Petrography, Institute of Geological Science, Leeds) have analysed six stone samples taken from the steps. All are composed of sandstones of Carboniferous age, which are widespread in occurrence throughout the Pennine region and north-east England, and have been extensively quarried. In general, sandstones of the Coal Measures lithostratigraphical unit are finer grained than those of the underlying Millstone Grit, but both are very variable and each locally contains types more commonly found in the other. This being the case it is not feasible to define precisely the source of the sandstones, but it is fairly safe to assume that the quarry would have been relatively local. The samples include two of Coal Measures type and four of Millstone Grit type.

CONCLUSION

The technique of step construction, identical to that employed throughout the remainder of the crypt, suggests that the steps in question were built at the same time as all the others. The presence of a recessed block in the roof above the lowest step, identical to one above the top step at the south end of the north passage, again suggests contemporaneity of construction. Nothing was found in the excavation of the cutting for the steps to suggest that they were of later date, and there is no visible sign on the admittedly heavily rendered walls of the north passage to suggest that there was ever an exit at any other point. Thus it may be concluded that the recent alterations in the fabric have removed the vestiges of an original exit from Wilfrid's crypt.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavations in the crypt and the observations in the north transept were made possible by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter. I should also like to thank the cathedral masons for their assistance. More obvious is my debt to Mr. A. D. Phillips for undertaking the photographic recording of the excavation, to Mr. J. Evans, Dr. N. G. Berridge and Mr. K. S. Siddiqui for their analyses of the building materials, and to Dr. L. A. S. Butler and Mr. J. T. Lang for allowing me to incorporate the results of their work at the cathedral. I am also grateful to Dr. R. N. Bailey for information on the building techniques at Hexham.

APPENDIX I

OBSERVATIONS MADE IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT DURING BUILDING WORK IN SEPTEMBER 1974

BY L. A. S. BUTLER

Observations made during work below the north and south chapels of the transept suggest that its wall was of a single period, and that the partition between the chapels was an original feature. Re-used stones including ones with billet ornament and simple chamfers were noted. All the masonry observed suggests early thirteenth-century work re-using late twelfth-century stone. There was nothing that could be identified as a Saxon or early Norman building, floor, or ground surface.

On the north inner wall of the north chapel there were five courses of masonry, all showing diagonal tooling and bearing four versions of mason's marks, repeated frequently: * † 4 p. The upper course in both chapels had the trace of painted lines (red on a very fine white background). In no other area of walling were mason's marks observed, though the other surfaces were tooled diagonally.

Underneath the base of the transept wall was a 60-cm thick layer of loose cobbles mixed with medium brown coloured loosely compacted soil, with tip lines visible amongst it. Below this was a red sandy soil.

APPENDIX II

AN ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN CROSS-HEAD FROM RIPON CATHEDRAL

BY J. T. LANG

In the early part of 1974 masons working in the north transept of Ripon Cathedral discovered a substantial fragment of a pre-Conquest cross-head. During the dismantling of the vault beneath the Markenfield Chapel the stone was found contained in the filling behind its ashlar facing, at a depth of only two or three feet near the eastern footings of the central pier of the transept's arcade.³

The fragment is of dark sandstone and consists of the upper arm and one lateral arm of a free armed cross. Its maximum dimensions are 23.4 cm high, 28.4 cm wide and 17.0 cm thick. The arm-pit is a broad arc linking the very slightly splayed arms. Only the upper arm has its tip intact: it carries a crudely carved twin link motif in medial incised band contained by a plain edge moulding 2.5 cm wide. The principal face also has this moulding and is filled with illustrative carving in low relief. Within the upper arm a seated figure is depicted in profile facing right, his right hand raised to his mouth. Below his feet and extending into the sinister arm is the head of a beast with domed brow, splayed jowl and incised elliptical eye. This is identified elsewhere⁴ as Sigurd sucking his thumb over the dead dragon Fafnir, a popular theme in the illustrative sculpture of Northern England in the 10th century. The reverse face has the same arris moulding and along its inner edge marks of the tool used to pick out the design may be seen. The whole surface is filled with medial incised interlace, possibly disposed about a lost boss. The upper arm contains a pair of box point terminals but owing to damage it is impossible to determine whether the interlace of each arm was a distinct closed circuit or linked by connecting bands round the lost central boss.

The decorative scheme and the interlace of the new cross-head were matched by another Ripon piece, once in the crypt but now no longer in the cathedral. Collingwood's drawings of this⁵ show a cross-head of similar shape and size, though the splay of the upper arm is somewhat greater, with interlace ornament in incised band on the reverse face and arm tips, and illustrative sculpture on the principal face consisting of two confronting birds on either side of a domed boss. Rough twists act as fillers above the birds' heads. It seems likely that the two cross-heads were by the same hand since they are decoratively analogous and have similar cutting techniques, bold backing and linear picking. Both belong to the tenth century, and the Sigurd reference on the new piece testifies to its Viking Age context.

³ I am grateful to the cathedral masons who related the circumstances of the discovery and who have preserved the stone in their workshop, and to Professor R. J. Cramp, who drew my attention to the stone.

⁴ J. T. Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England', *Y.A.J.* xlviii (1976), pp. 83-96.

⁵ W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding', *Y.A.J.* xxiii (1914), pp. 234-5, fig. ghij.

MEDIEVAL FLOOR TILES FROM GUISBOROUGH PRIORY, YORKSHIRE

BY SHIRLEY KNIGHT AND LAURENCE KEEN

Summary A collection of medieval floor tiles found at Guisborough Priory in the nineteenth century was examined. Types, shapes, designs and the arrangement of mosaic tiles are discussed. Analogies for their origin and dating are examined. Most belonged to mosaic patterns of the thirteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

Guisborough Priory was founded for Augustinian canons in 1119 by Robert de Brus.¹ In 1289, during repairs to the lead roof, a disastrous fire severely damaged the Priory church necessitating a vast re-building scheme which extended over fifty years.² In order to help finance this work the convent petitioned the King in 1290 to appropriate the churches of Easington, Barningham and Heslerton.³ In 1297 there was another fire⁴ and this time it became necessary for the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham to issue indulgences to those contributing towards the cost of the re-building.⁵ Later still, in 1334, Archbishop Melton issued a brief for collection towards the repair of the Priory church. It was a long time before repairs were completed, due no doubt to the heavy financial losses incurred by the Scottish wars. The Priory was dissolved in 1540 and the site and buildings first leased to Thomas Leigh⁶ one of Henry VIII's commissioners. In 1550 the buildings were sold to Sir Thomas Chaloner,⁷ and are now the property of his descendant, Lord Gisborough, whose grandfather put the monument into the guardianship of the then Office of Works in 1932.

In 1867, the owner of the Guisborough estates, Captain T. Chaloner, R.N., started clearing away the rubbish that had accumulated over the floors and foundations since 1540. During this clearance it was reported that many heraldic floor tiles were uncovered,⁸ but the present whereabouts of the majority of these is unknown.⁹

In 1968 an archaeological evening class under the auspices of the Department of Extra-mural Studies, University of Leeds, undertook to study the Guisborough Priory floor tiles. These had been lying unsorted for many years in the custodian's garden hut in the Priory grounds. They consisted of three groups; inlaid and plain mosaic tiles, which made up the greater number; fragmentary pieces of inlaid square tiles; and several examples of imported tiles. The mosaic tiles have since been briefly referred to in print.¹⁰ The tiles are now deposited at Mount Grace Priory.

¹ There is some uncertainty about the exact date of the foundation. Walter of Hemingburgh says that the priory was founded in 1129 but the existence of a charter of confirmation from Pope Calixtus II and Thurstan, Archbishop of York, in which the canons are referred to as being already installed, shows that the date must fall between 1119 and 1124, the years of the pontificate. W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, i (new edition), J. Caley, *et al.*, (London, 1846), p. 267. Several authorities prefer the older spelling of Gisborough to the more modern form Guisborough used in this report.

² W. Brown (ed.), *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, Surtees Society, LXXXIX (1891), pp. 353-354.

³ *Ibid.*, 354.

⁴ J. R. Lumbe (ed.), *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, I, Rolls Series (London 1889), p. 389.

⁵ In 1309 and 1311, see Brown *op. cit.*, p. 355.

⁶ J. W. Ord, *History and Antiquities of Cleveland* (London 1846), pp. 574-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁸ *Building News*, 18th October 1867.

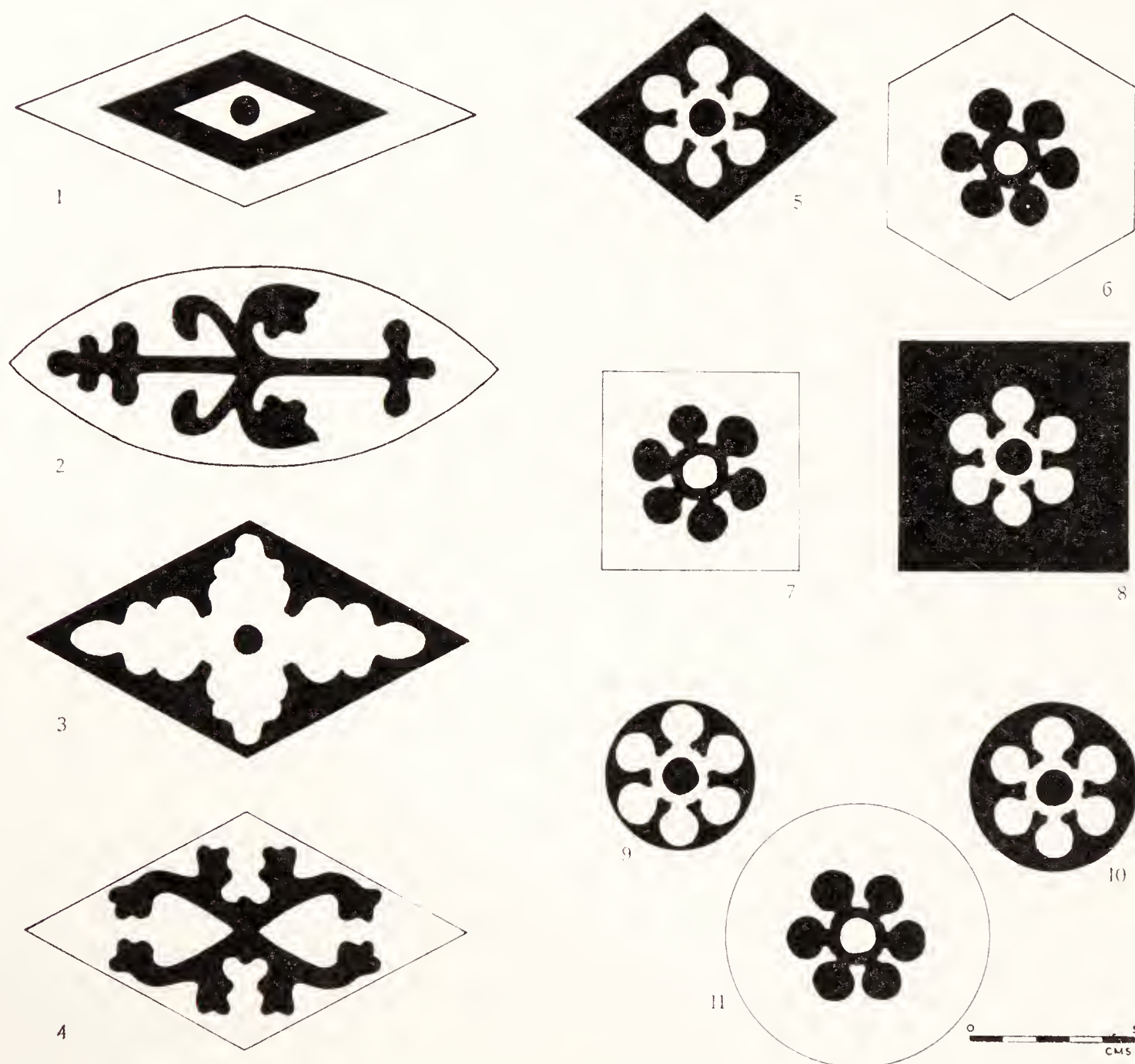
⁹ There are some tiles in the Yorkshire Museum. W. Harvey Brook Catalogue no. 152(i) with the inlaid arms of Kyme, presented by Chaloner in 1878, (ii) impressed arms of Kyme.

¹⁰ Laurence Keen, 'A Fourteenth-century tile pavement at Meesden, Hertfordshire', *Hertfordshire Archaeology*, II (1970), p. 79.

MOSAIC TILES

Description

The shaped mosaic tiles vary in thickness from 30 mm to 35 mm. The majority have a light brick-red earthenware body with a medium to light grey core, and on many where the glaze has worn away the surface shows a mixture of grey and brick-red. The majority of the diamond-shaped tiles (Fig. 1) have a finer texture, tend more to a buff colour with a dark grey core, many showing signs of horizontal cracking. There is also an example of a square inlaid tile (Fig. 8) with a much coarser body which has been fired to a bright orange-red with a dark grey core.



FIGS. 1-11. Mosaic Tiles.

Methods of Manufacture

Moulds were not used in the manufacture of the tiles, but they were individually cut out from quarries: it is suggested that the original cut was made around a template. The straight edged tiles, which were cut with a sharp instrument, frequently exhibit signs of diagonal trimming; with the roundels however, a final trimming was carried out using a knife, evidence of this paring being clearly seen. The vesica shapes show very few signs of paring and since these shapes are all of the same size the possibility of some form of 'tile cutter' cannot be ruled out the tiles having been cut out cleanly in one operation and not broken apart. The mosaic tiles do not have vertical sides, the tendency being for the edges to taper from top to bottom. This tapering ensures a good bedding in the mortar and enables a much closer fit to be achieved when assembled, thus giving a better finish to the completed pavement.

Process of Inlaying

The technique used to achieve the design is for convenience called the *reverse inlay*, that is, a stamp was used to depress the background of the design leaving the design in relief, the background then being covered with white pipe clay. Only two designs, Figs. 3, 5 and 8, are impressed into the blank tile before being inlaid with white clay. Many of the vesica shapes indicate that the stamp did not fit the tile outline exactly; this resulted in a border of tile clay 3 mm in width appearing around the tile surface. Two designs appear with the colour arrangement of the design reversed. In the case of designs Figs. 5 to 8 this was achieved by the use of two stamps, one using the ordinary inlaying technique and the other the reverse inlay. In the case of Fig. 4 only four tiles were found with the design in white against a dark background. Surprisingly this had not been done by ordinary inlaying but by two very intricate methods. In one the same design as Fig. 4 was depressed, the raised design was coated with white slip and the background was then filled in with dark clay leaving the design in white. The background appears slightly dished, the clay having a streaky appearance. In the second, the plain shaped tile had been coated with a layer of white slip about 5 mm thick. This was then stamped leaving the design about 2 mm proud of the background which was then filled with dark clay. Both of these techniques are most unusual but the second has a parallel at the Cistercian house of Melrose, Roxburghshire, Scotland, where some tiles published by Richardson¹¹ and now exhibited in the site museum are coated with a much thicker layer of white slip into which the design is inlaid in dark clay. This method may possibly have been used because at Melrose the body of the tiles was rather light in appearance. However, as white clay may have been a very expensive item since it does not occur in Scotland, the dark designs could have been achieved more simply by other methods. At Guisborough the simplest method would have been to cut a block which stamped the design itself and not the background, which could then have been inlaid.

Glazes

The glazes, although badly worn, show a great variety of colours, ranging from a clear yellow with traces of pink to various shades of brown and green, some appearing almost black. The colours were achieved by several means.¹² Brown was made by applying the lead glaze directly onto the red earthenware body. Where the reduced clay appears in greyish patches on the tile surface the glaze has a green-brown mottled effect. This is by far the most common colour found at Guisborough. On some of the tiles the addition of copper to the lead glaze has resulted in a dark green, the same glaze when applied over a white slip producing the bright green. The yellow and pinkish colouring resulted from the application of lead glaze over a white or creamy white slip.¹³ Due to inconsistency in the firing a wide colour variation occurs both on individual tiles and also from tile to tile.

Shapes

Inlaying occurs in ten differently sized tiles made up of six shapes: vesica (Fig. 2); diamond (Figs. 1, 3–5); hexagon (Fig. 6); square (Figs. 7 and 8) and round (Figs. 9–11). All of these shapes could be divided into halves and quarters to produce tiles suitable for the edges of panels, etc.

Designs

Five designs can be identified and are shown in Figs. 1–11.

¹¹ J. S. Richardson, 'A thirteenth-century tile kiln at North Berwick, East Lothian, and Scottish medieval ornamental floor tiles', *Soc. Antiq. Scot. Proc.*, LXIII (1928–9), pp. 293–7.

¹² For discussion of glazes see E. S. Eames, 'A thirteenth-century tile kiln site at North Grange, Meaux, Beverley, Yorkshire', *Medieval Archaeology*, V (1961), p. 166 and *Medieval Tiles* (British Museum 1968), p. 2.

¹³ See Keen *op. cit.*, p. 80 n. 4.

Shapes with their Design

Apart from Figs. 3 and 4, two diamond shaped tiles of exactly the same size measuring 13.5×7.0 cms, all the other shaped tiles have only one design common to their particular size.

The designs on Figs. 1 and 2 are exclusive to that size and shaped tile whilst Figs. 5–11 always show the six-foil design.

Many of the mosaic tiles found at Guisborough are paralleled at the following sites: Byland,¹⁴ Rievaulx,¹⁵ Sawley,¹⁶ Newbattle,¹⁷ Meaux,¹⁸ Fountains,¹⁹ Melrose,²⁰ all Cistercian monasteries, at Thornton Abbey (Augustinian),²¹ Helmsley Castle,²² and Old Byland Church. It is not often that exact measurements for individual tiles are recorded in the publications so that only a superficial comparison can be made.

Although many of the shapes found at Guisborough are known at a number of other sites only three of the five designs referred to above have been found at these sites, *i.e.* designs on Figs. 1, 4 and 5.

In the site museum at Byland Abbey there is a single tile having a design identical to Fig. 1 but this form does not occur on the tiles of the pavements still *in situ*, where the diamonds are plain. Moreover, the design does not appear on the tiles in the British Museum. The tiles with design of Fig. 1 at Guisborough exhibit extensive horizontal cracking on their sides, a feature in common with the Byland tiles. It is possible that these tiles had been produced at Byland, where wasters have been noticed;²³ only scientific analysis will determine this. It is also interesting to note that in the site museum of Fountains Abbey there is a diamond tile of Fig. 1 without a centre boss. The remaining tiles at Fountains are so badly weathered that if the tiles were inlaid it can no longer be seen.

In All Saints' Church, Old Byland, there is a panel of tile mosaic on the site of the high altar measuring 4.6 m by 1.5 m. The tiles are badly worn but their layout is interesting since it is the same as the three-tile pattern (Fig. 13), but breaking into this is a small roundel and two panels; each panel consists of sixteen diamond shaped tiles, in many cases showing traces of the design illustrated on Fig. 4, in both positive and negative form. The design in dark clay has been achieved by reverse inlay and the slight white outline around the design with the design in white suggests that the tiles had been produced by the same method as described above for Guisborough. The only other tile showing inlaying is on a tile 50 mm square; this has the six-foil design in ordinary inlay. The tiles at Old Byland appear to be inferior in quality to those at Guisborough and Byland Abbey.

Fig. 5, which is the most common design at Guisborough, besides occurring at Byland Abbey and Old Byland Church is found at Rievaulx, Melrose, Meaux and Newbattle, but at these last four the design appears smaller and more compact. At Byland, however, the design can be seen twenty-six times *in situ*. The similarity in size and shape to the Guisborough examples suggests that both series of tiles may have had a common origin.

¹⁴ E. S. Eames and G. K. Beulah, 'The 13th-century tile mosaic pavements in Yorkshire Cistercian Houses', *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden*, VII (1956).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ G. K. Beulah, 'Paving tiles from Meaux Abbey', *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, XXVI (1926) 125. J. R. Walbran, *Associated Architectural Societies' Report and Papers*, II (1852–3), 80, W. Richardson, *The Monastic Ruins of Yorkshire*, II (York 1843) and Harland, *Historical Account of Salley Abbey* (1853).

¹⁷ Richardson *op. cit.*, in n. 11, pp. 287–92.

¹⁸ Beulah *op. cit.*, in n. 16 and Eames *op. cit.*, in n. 12.

¹⁹ Drawings by W. Fowler published 1 February 1800 as 'Principal patterns of Roman floors at Fountains Abbey, near Ripon, Yorkshire'. G. M. Mills, 'Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire', *Collectanea Archaeologica*, II (1871), Pl. XLVI, 299 and 302 and *Building News*, November 1895.

²⁰ Richardson *op. cit.*, in n. 11, pp. 293–7.

²¹ *Archaeological Journal*, II (1845), 364, and Eames and Beulah, *op. cit.*, and J. Byron, *Archaeological Journal*, XI (1854), 285–6, quoted by Keen, *op. cit.*, in note 10 above.

²² Helmsley Castle.

²³ Laurence Keen, 'A series of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lead-glazed relief tiles from North Devon', *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 3rd Series, XXXII (1969), p. 146.

This suggestion is reinforced since at both Byland and Guisborough the six-foil occurs with two lobes fused together.

Designs on Figs. 2 and 3 have not so far been found at any of the sites mentioned, although Fig. 2 is similar to one found at Melrose.²⁴

The variations of the individual Guisborough designs are very slight but there is sufficient evidence to suggest that more than one stamp was used for each design. This is particularly noticeable in the six-foil design when it appears with ordinary inlay, the lobes of the petals vary in size; it is less noticeable in reverse inlay.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE MOSAIC TILES

Since none of the Guisborough tiles were found *in situ* it was necessary to form an interpretation of the possible arrangements of tiles. In all, five different types of panel emerge, four borders and a large segment of a circular motif.

Circular Motif

The wheel pattern (Fig. 12) occupies an area 3.35 m square and consists of four thin bands of plain dark tiles alternating with wider bands of decorated mosaic tiles. It is noticeable that several of the triangular shapes are scored with one or two strokes on one of their edges. Initially it was thought that these were marks to denote the order of laying but similar scoring occurs on tiles at Byland and as some of these tiles are *in situ* and the score marks occur at random they must mark the outer face of the tile as it was to be laid in the band.

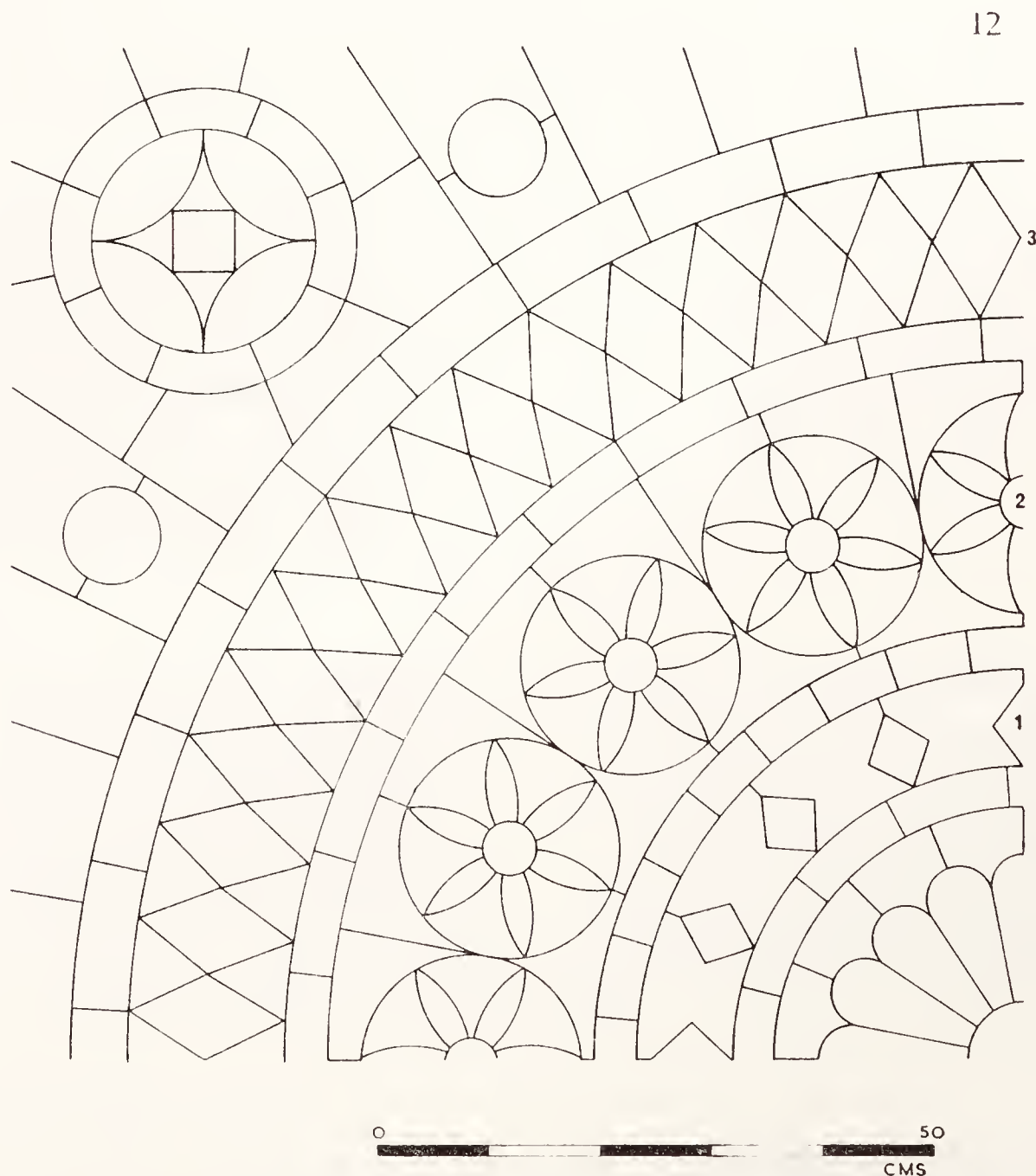
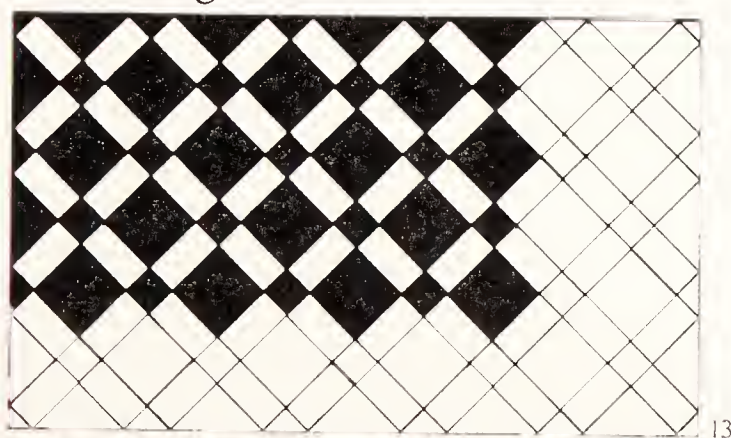


FIG. 12. Wheel pattern of plain and mosaic tiles.

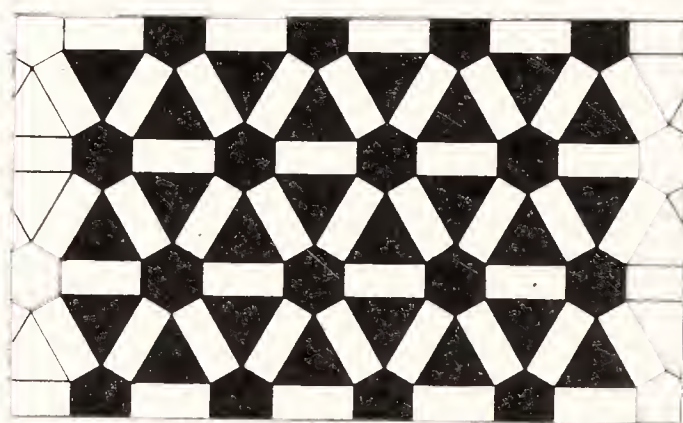
²⁴ Richardson, *op. cit.*, in n. 11, Pl. IV, no. 18.

The centre of the roundel consists of sixteen undecorated 'petal' tiles around a central circular tile. These are illustrated uncoloured on Fig. 12 but may have alternated dark and light in the original arrangement. Band 1 consists of two differently shaped tiles, one decorated with a six-foil (Fig. 5) where again, as the decorated tile is found both with ordinary inlay and reverse inlay—the original arrangement may have been made up of alternating light and dark coloured designs. Band 2, the most elaborate within the roundel, is made up of sixteen small circular motifs each consisting of six 'petal' tiles around a small inlaid circular tile (Fig. 9). It would seem possible that in the original arrangement the colours of these motifs varied throughout the band; the 'petal' tiles may also have alternated within each small roundel. Band 3 consists entirely of inlaid diamond shaped tiles (Fig. 4); the design survives mainly in reverse inlay but the few tiles which occur with the alternate colour arrangement suggest that the band may have consisted of these two types alternating. The few other differently decorated diamonds of the same size (Fig. 3) may also have been placed within this band. The corner of the panel has one main decorative element, a small roundel made up of decorated vesica tiles (Fig. 2) surrounding a square decorated tile (Fig. 7) with plain tiles around two circular inlaid tiles (Fig. 11).

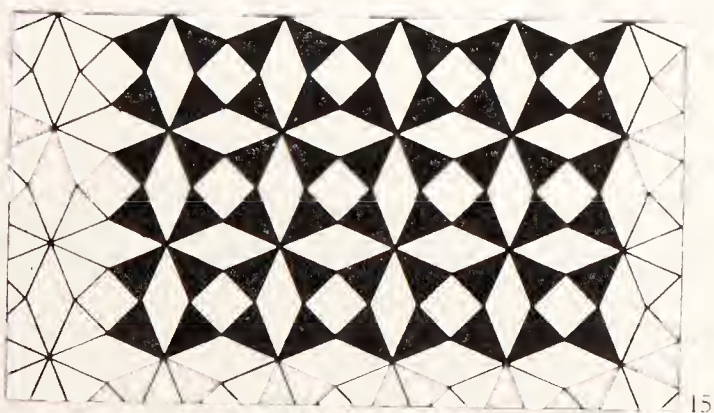
The Guisborough wheel pattern, except for minor variations, is identical to pavements found at Byland, Sawley, Newbattle, Meaux and Rievaulx, differing only in the design of band 2. At Guisborough the six-petalled motifs of band 2 have flat edges where they meet the centre roundel. Although the same layout occurs at Rievaulx, the band is smaller and the flower consists of seven petals and a smaller roundel. At Byland, Sawley, Newbattle and Meaux, however, the petals are pointed at both ends, and the centre roundel is thus unnecessary. In the four corners of all these wheel motifs a smaller roundel is present, in many cases similar to that at Guisborough. However, the Guisborough wheel pattern differs radically from all the other pavements referred to in that a large number of the tiles have designs on them.



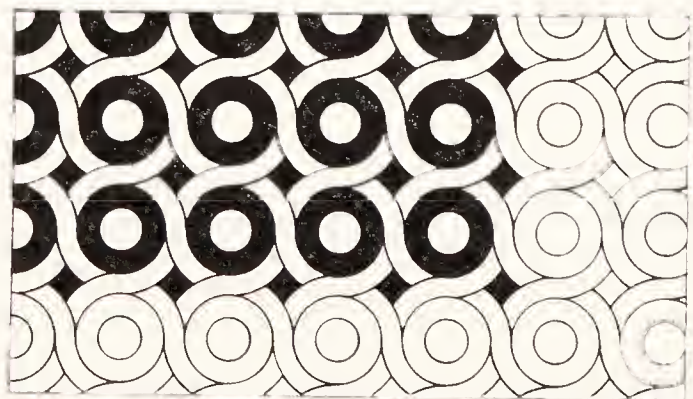
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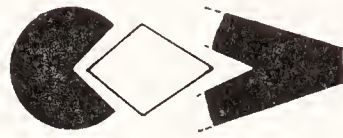


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FIGS. 13-17. Panel arrangements of plain and inlaid tiles.

All the mosaic tiles from Guisborough could have been used within the circular pavement, panels or the borders already described with three exceptions. These single tiles, *i.e.* those of Fig. 18, could be used to form another centre for a circular motif, which implies that more than one wheel pattern existed at Guisborough and that it probably followed the pattern of the second wheel pavement at Newbattle.²⁵



18

Panels

It has been possible to reconstruct five panel arrangements.

1. Fig. 14. Plain tiles around an inlaid tile (Fig. 6). This arrangement can be seen at Byland (south transept chapel), Rievaulx (south aisle chapel), Melrose (chapter house), and is recorded at Newbattle and Meaux.
2. Fig. 15. A three tile design incorporating an inlaid diamond (Fig. 1) and an inlaid square tile (Fig. 7). This panel is found at all the abbeys mentioned for panel 1 with the exception of Rievaulx, but with the addition of Fountains Abbey.
3. Fig. 13. Made up from three plain tiles, an arrangement found at Meaux, Newbattle, Byland and Old Byland Church.
4. Fig. 16. An inlaid circular tile (Fig. 10) surrounded by an evidently complete plain circle tile and curved linking pieces. This design is found at Byland (south transept chapel) and Rievaulx,²⁶ although a similar arrangement occurs at Newbattle²⁷ but there the central tiles are hexagons and do not have curved linking pieces.
5. The fleur-de-lys panel (Fig. 17) consists of a complete fleur-de-lys and four other tiles, forming a 110 mm square. Although the fleur-de-lys was a popular tile decoration the methods adopted to achieve the design in tile mosaic were rarely the same at any two abbeys. At Meaux²⁸ it appeared with two tiles, one on either side, but at Newbattle²⁹ the fleur-de-lys needed five other tiles to complete the design.

Borders

Borders were used to separate one panel from another and at least four different borders are present at Guisborough.

1. The most common border, and one used extensively at Byland, is made up of squares and triangles.
2. Equilateral triangles of two alternating colours.
3. Similar to 2 but utilising isosceles triangular tiles to create the same effect.
4. Border made up of alternating squares of different colours.

Dating and Origin

There are no known records of when or by whom the Guisborough mosaic tiles were laid, and so accurate documentary dating is not possible. The earliest recorded evidence of tile mosaic in Yorkshire abbeys is at Fountains between 1220 and 1247;³⁰ the abbey church

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. II facing p. 290.

²⁶ British Museum, Rutland Collection.

²⁷ Richardson *op. cit.*, in n. 11, Fig. 6, no. 8.

²⁸ Beulah *op. cit.*, in n. 16, p. 135, Fig. 48.

²⁹ Richardson *op. cit.*, in n. 11, p. 285, Fig. 3.

³⁰ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, ed. J. Caley *et al.*, (London 1846), 286 and R. Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains Abbey*, Yorkshire (London, 1970), p. 36.

at Meaux being paved between 1249 and 1269.³¹ The latest date associated with this type of paving comes from Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire, in 1313.²¹

After the fire of 1289 much of the church fabric was renewed and repair work was not completed until 1334, a date too late for the tiles under discussion. In Walter of Hemingburgh's account² of the fire he states that it 'destroyed everything'; it is possible, however, that some of the mosaic tiles were protected by stone vaults;³² certainly a date preceding the fire would seem to fit the Guisborough mosaics and also the extensive use of inlaying which is indicative of late thirteenth-century work. If a date could be put upon the mosaics from Byland Abbey it must surely be very near to the Guisborough one, as the similarity in tile shapes, sizes, inlaying and glazes are such as to suggest that they are contemporary.

So far amongst the abbeys already mentioned the only kiln to be found for the manufacture of tile mosaics was at Meaux³³ but the fabric of the Meaux tiles differs slightly from those on other sites and it has been suggested that each abbey may have had its own tiles manufactured for it, but no kilns have been found at Guisborough so far and, indeed, on examination, the Guisborough mosaics appear to originate from several different clay sources. However, only a complete chemical analysis will determine if this is so.

One particularly distinctive feature of this group of tiles is the use of the same design achieved either by a separate stamp or by using the same stamp with a complicated and laborious use of clays (see p. 67 above). Polychrome effects are a common feature of medieval pavements but this use of design colour reversal is unusual. The best use of this arrangement is at St. Pierre sur Dives, Calvados, France, where a large roundel containing eight bands has, in six of these, the colour reversed designs of each band placed symmetrically. The effect is striking and is used even in the tiles bordering the roundel making up the square of this pavement³⁴ which is one of the finest in France. This sort of decorative arrangement is as rare in France as it is in England and there can be little doubt that the Guisborough pavements were beyond the paviour's more usual production.

It has been shown that this technique was probably confined, in the Yorkshire area, to the mosaic pavements having a minimal amount of decoration to the simple polychrome effects achieved by the juxtaposition of differently coloured tiles. The exact connection that this northern series of pavements has with the large group of fourteenth-century mosaic tiles decorated with line-impressed decoration, which is to be found mainly in eastern England,³⁵ is difficult to assess, but clearly there is more than a slight similarity. Eames and Keen have demonstrated recently that line-impressed mosaics are to be found in western England and Wales.³⁶ Recent excavations by Mr. Patrick Greene at Norton Priory, Cheshire, have shown close connections between the tiles found there and the pavements of eastern England. It is now becoming clear that decorated mosaic tiles were widespread throughout England.

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY INLAID TILES

Among the mosaic tiles were several fragments of square inlaid tiles of fourteenth-century date (Figs. 19–21). These pieces are about 25 mm thick and have a green-yellow glaze. No complete tiles were found. No parallels to these tiles have been located except for Fig. 19 which is found at Rievaulx Abbey.

³¹ The church was paved under Abbot William 1249–69. E. A. Bond (ed.) *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, Rolls Series (London 1867), p. 119.

³² We owe this suggestion to Richard Gem.

³³ See Eames 1961 in note 11.

³⁴ A. Ramé, 'Études sur les carrelages émaillés. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives'. *Annales Archéologiques*, XII (1852), pp. 281–293.

³⁵ See the survey in Keen *op. cit.* in note 10 above.

³⁶ Elizabeth Eames and Laurence Keen, 'Some line-impressed tile mosaics from Western England and Wales', *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 3rd series, XXXV (1972), pp. 65–70.



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- FIG. 19-21. Square inlaid tiles of the fourteenth century.
 FIG. 22. Whitcomb No. 73/74 found at Hull and York.
 FIG. 23. No. 90.
 FIG. 24. No. 105 found at York.
 FIG. 25. No. 120 found at Hull and York.
 FIG. 26. No. 52.
 FIG. 27. No. 101 found at York.
 FIG. 28. No. 110 found at York.
 FIG. 29. No. 135 found at York.

LATE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TILES

A number of fragments were found of inlaid tiles which belong to a group which Whitcomb has considered in detail.³⁷ These tiles have their origins in Nottinghamshire, from where they were distributed over a very wide area during the fourteenth century. Whitcomb has shown that tiles of this series reached York and Hull while it was still new but that the successors of the original tile-makers moved to Derbyshire, York, and perhaps Leicester, where certain tiles are very late in the series.

IMPORTED TILES

Among the tiles referred to above were a number of plain tiles which, on the basis of their fabric and manufacturing technique, are in every probability imported. The tiles are either a yellow, which is the result of a lead glaze over a thin layer of white slip, or a dull brown-green. The white slip is extremely flaky and probably indicates that the tiles were fired before coating with the slip and then given a second firing; this is a technique found in the Low Countries. On the dark coloured tiles, four or even five nail holes can be seen in the surface of the tile. Nails were used in the manufacture of Dutch tiles to hold the tile quarry onto a board where it was trimmed to size before the first firing.³⁸ A similar technique can be seen on the post-medieval tiles manufactured in the Pays d'Auge (around Lisieux), France, here two nail holes are often visible on opposite corners of the tiles.

Two sizes were noticed: one about 110 mm square and 25 mm thick, the other about 250 mm square and 25 mm thick. These sizes are very similar to those recorded on a number of sites, particularly nearby Mountgrace Priory.³⁹ Documentary evidence refers to two sizes of floor tiles as coming from abroad.⁴⁰ For Yorkshire this documentary evidence is at present limited to York Minster,⁴¹ where in 1415 33s. 4d. was paid for 600 *largis tegulis Flaundrensibus* and 8s. 4d. for 600 *minoribus tegulis* and to Hull, where in 1471/2 a shipmaster of Edam brought 700 paving tiles.⁴² At Southampton, however, there is evidence, not only for the importation of tiles from abroad in the fifteenth century, but clear indications of their destinations in the Southampton hinterland: Romsey, Salisbury, Winchester, St. Cross, etc.⁴³

It is unfortunately impossible to date these tiles closely, but on the basis of the documentary and archaeological evidence a fourteenth- to fifteenth-century date is possible.

CONCLUSION

The tiles considered above make an important contribution to the study of tiles in northern England. The mosaic series is clearly of the highest importance, since it demonstrates an unrecorded elaboration of the mosaic tiles found so frequently in the York-

³⁷ N. R. Whitcomb, *The Medieval Floor-Tiles of Leicestershire* (Leicester 1956), particularly, pp. 9-11 and 17-19.

³⁸ See C. H. de Jonge, *Nederlandse Tegels*, (Amsterdam 1971) and D. Korf, *Dutch Tiles* (English translation by M. Clarke, London 1963), pp. 12-13.

³⁹ For instance at Campsea Ash, Suffolk, see Laurence Keen, 'Medieval floor-tiles from Campsea Ash Priory', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, XXXII, part 2 (1971), pp. 147-8, at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, and Mountgrace Priory.

⁴⁰ Keen, 1971, *op. cit.*, and see also T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College* (1892), p. 145, for tiles bought 1397-8.

⁴¹ J. Raine (ed.), *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Durham 1859), Surtees Society, XXXV, p. 36.

⁴² P.R.O., E.122, 62/17.m.4r. L.K. is grateful to Mr. John Hare for providing him with a transcript. Mentioned in N. J. M. Kerling, 'The commercial relationship of Holland-Zeeland with England in the late 13th century to the close of the Middle Ages'. Unpublished University of London thesis presented 1952 for Ph.D. (Arts).

⁴³ Entries in O. Coleman (ed.), *The Brokage Book of Southampton 1443-1444*, Southampton Record Series, vols. IV (1960) and V (1961) and B. Foster (Ed.), *The Local Port Book of Southampton, 1435-36*, Southampton Record Series, vol. VII 1963.

shire Cistercian houses. The other groups, though small and fragmentary, are none the less interesting since they show designs not recorded before or, in the case of the Nottinghamshire series, push the distribution further north than has been recorded before.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The Council of the Society wishes to thank the Department of the Environment for a grant towards the cost of publishing this paper.

PASTORAL FARMING ON THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER'S PICKERING ESTATE IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

BY BRYAN WAITES

Summary Records of the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster's estate in the Honour and Forest of Pickering during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries give a good idea of farming practice in the area. The Duchy authorities concentrated on sheep farming for wool production. A small stud farm was also maintained in Blansby Park. The careful organisation of these and other estates established the economic power, and hence the political power, of the Dukes of Lancaster.

On 30 June 1267 Edmund Crouchback knelt before his father, King Henry III, to accept the charter which made him Earl of Lancaster. He rose as the possessor of lands in almost every corner of England, from Lancashire to Huntingdon and the Welsh Marches. This grant marked the beginning of the Lancastrian interest in Yorkshire, for it included the Honour and Forest of Pickering, together with the manor of Scalby.¹

The Honour extended over a wide and diverse area: from the River Derwent in the south almost to Eskdale 16 miles to the north, and from the River Seven in the west to the coast 20 miles to the east (Fig. 1). It included moorland over 1000 feet in height, which gradually declined southwards to be replaced by the fertile dip slopes of Corallian limestone—the site of a series of prosperous villages of which Pickering was the chief. Further southwards still the meadowland and carmland of the Derwent valley stood out in contrast.²

This diversity makes the Duchy estate peculiarly suitable for study, because an insight into both demesne and tenant farms is possible. Thus, besides being able to examine Duchy sheep farming, the historian can see the economy of the whole area covered by the Honour. Since the Honour was so large a part of the North-East of England, it is evident that any conclusions reached about the economy within it will be very significant for the region as a whole.

A discontinuous series of Ministers' accounts give a very good picture of Duchy farming in the Honour during the fourteenth century. These are the Reeve's accounts for 1313–14 and 1322, and Keeper's accounts for 1325–27. After a lapse of fifty years Reeve's and Bailiff's accounts occur again in 1377–78. From 1438 the series continues unbroken throughout the fifteenth century. Receiver's and Auditor's accounts are available for this latter period but are generally less useful than the detailed Reeve's accounts. In addition to these the Coucher Book of the Duchy provides much background material. The contents of the book are varied including such items as forest offences, charter grants, and claims for certain privileges—all these falling under the general heading of Pleas of the Forest.³

How far sheep farming had developed on the Duchy estate prior to the fourteenth century remains a mystery. By the date of the first account in 1313, however, it is clear that a well organised system of sheep farming was in operation. This was to be expected since all the Duchy possessions seemed to be carefully administered by a hierarchy of local and regional officials who 'imparted a unity of control that was further exercised by the

¹ See R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster I*, 1265–1603 (1953).

² The boundaries of the Forest of Pickering are delineated in document No. 399 of the *Whitby Chartulary* (Surtees Society, Vols. 69 (1879) and 72 (1881)).

³ The accounts for 1313–14, 1322, and 1325–27 are printed in R. B. Turton (ed.), *The Honor and Forest of Pickering*, North Riding Record Series, new series Vols. 2 and 4 (1895, 1897). The account for 1377 and subsequent accounts are in the Public Record Office, D.L. 29/490/7934–7956. Receiver's accounts are Bundle 500 and Auditor's accounts are Bundle 728. The Duchy Coucher Book has been largely printed in North Riding Record Series, new series 2–4 (cited below as N.R.R.S.).

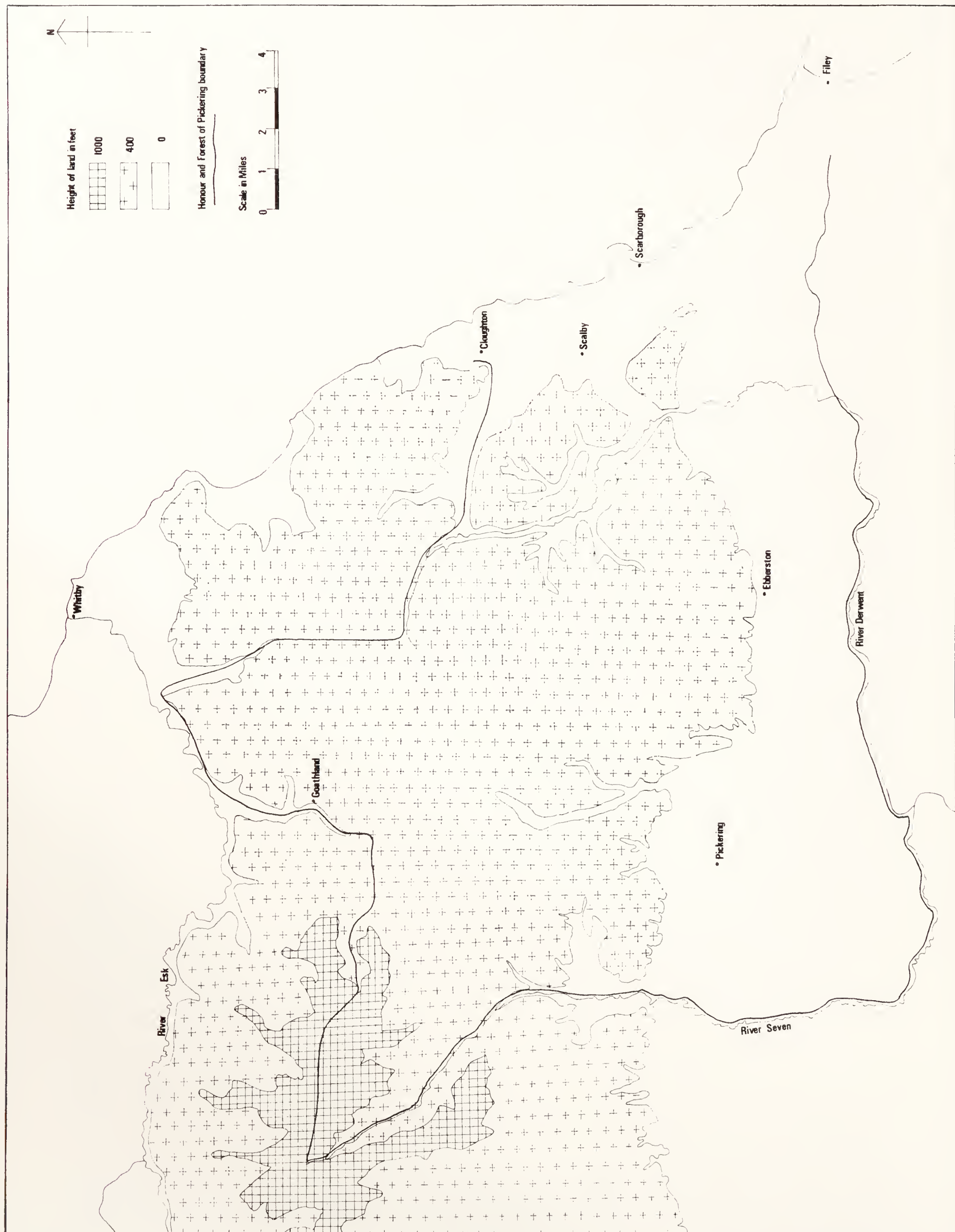


FIG. 1.

council'.⁴ The Dukes of Lancaster, too, seem to have played a much more active part in running their estates than was at one time supposed.⁵

Sheep farming took the predominant place in the economy of the Honour. While the demesne lands of the Duchy were let to farm early in the fourteenth century, and remained so, sheep farming was retained in Duchy hands until as late as 1434 when the pastures were leased and flocks disposed of.⁶ This retention of sheep farming stresses the suitability of the area for this activity. Nowhere else on any of the Duchy estates had sheep farming remained the direct activity of the Earl of Lancaster. The stock-keeper of the Derbyshire Peak sheep farm who had more than 5000 sheep under his control at the beginning of the fourteenth century had only vaccaries in his charge at the end; no mention of sheep was made on any but the Pickering estate.⁷ The Northamptonshire sheep farms which were extensive in the second decade of the century had passed into the hands of tenants by the end.⁸ The persistence of demesne farming in the Pickering estate in a period characterised by leasing elsewhere becomes more significant when it is recollected that monastic farmers, too, in this region, clung more tenaciously to their lands and flocks than did their counterparts in other parts of England.⁹

Though the Pickering flocks were organised on a centralised system, very similar to those of the Peak district with a stock-keeper (sometimes also the Bailiff) responsible for buying and selling sheep, superintending their pasture and collecting wool, the scale of farming appears to have been smaller. The following table shows the sheep on the Pickering estate at various times:—

Date	Wethers	Ewes	Hoggetts	Lambs	Wool	Wool Sold	Total Sheep
Sept. 1313– Sept. 1314	473	86	53	49	fleece 625	571 pounds 3 sacks 3½ st.	661
Mar.–Nov. 1322	1407	124	56	61	1619	4½ st. loket	1648
Sept. 1325– Sept. 1326	1194	98	39*	55	1340	8 sacks 12 st.	1386
Sept. 1326– Sept. 1327	1119	118	31*	79	1284	7½ sacks 28 st. 4½ st. loket.	1347
Sept.–Dec. 1327	1115	116	31*	74			1336

(* hoggetts and gimmers).

The numbers in the table are the residue in stock after sales and deaths.

⁴ Somerville, *op. cit.*, in n. 1, p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (1941), p. 38. 194 acres of land and 66 acres of meadow were leased in 1313. It remained leased out (P.R.O. D.L. 29/490/7934, account for 1377–8). A great deal of high moorland waste was let out during the fourteenth century. There was still cultivation undertaken by the Duchy itself on some of the Lancaster estates: e.g. 'Letting of demesne lands and direct cultivation were also going on simultaneously in the Northamptonshire manors' and at Gimingham, Norfolk, during the last decade of the fourteenth century (Somerville, *op. cit.* in n. 1, p. 95).

⁷ Power, *op. cit.* in n. 6., pp. 28, 38.

⁸ Somerville, *op. cit.* in n. 1, p. 95.

⁹ B. Wailes, *Moorland and Valeland Farming in North-East Yorkshire: the monastic contribution in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*, Borthwick Papers No. 32 (York 1967).

The most noticeable feature is that by 1322 the number of sheep was almost three times as great as in 1313. Subsequently from 1325–27 the total number remained very constant. Wethers predominated, being about ten times as many as ewes. Sales and purchases did not assume large proportions so far as the accounts show. In fact deaths from murrain, sheep pox or other causes were about the same as sales in the short period being dealt with. The following table enumerates them:—

Sheep and Lambs	1313–14	1322 (34 weeks only)	1325–26	1326–27	Total
Sales	128	74	52	73	327
Deaths	67	73	126	69	335
Lamb tithe ..	7	8	7	10	32
TOTAL ..	202	155	185	152	

The Duchy authorities concentrated on the production of wool. They sold all the wool produced and obtained high prices for the best quality. The classification of their wool into clean, refuse and lockets suggests a fairly high degree of experience in dealing with wool merchants. Such a division facilitated business dealings. Prices paid for clean wool ranged from 120s. to 140s. a sack in the early fourteenth century; refuse wool was 75s. to 80s. a sack and lockets about 25s. a sack. These were very good compared to surrounding areas: in the Vale of York, for instance, during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the sack was about 100s., while along the coastal region the sack was fetching 66s. 8d. in 1341. Even in the Vale of Pickering itself, within a few miles of the Duchy boundaries, the value of the sack appears to have been much less. At Kirkdale it was 66s. 8d. and at Thornton 80s. Although it would not be wise to draw over strong conclusions from such variable data it seems likely that the superior organisation of the Duchy resulted in higher prices for wool sold. Incidentally, the monasteries, even more highly organised for sheep farming, received larger prices still.

But sheep had many uses; that was the essence of their value. The accounts show that besides serving the principal function of wool producers, they supplied skins and pelts which were a profitable source of income to the Duchy. There are indications, too, that the milk of the ewes was the nucleus of a small dairying industry, additionally important because, so far as the evidence shows, no cattle were kept on the estate. The milk of ewes appears several times as an item in the accounts and though it was let out in 1322, in subsequent years it was retained for use on the estate—sheep, as Round stresses were ‘expected to supply not only mutton and wool, but above all, milk.’¹⁰ The production of cheese from sheep’s milk was a recognised Essex Industry’. Cheese was made from ewes milk at Pickering and sold.¹¹ But the supply of milk from sheep was below the demand for it, and collection from over a wide area had to be made. Thus the Reeve acknowledges the expenses of ‘a woman collecting milk throughout the country’, and of ‘a man seeking milk throughout the country for the lambs’.

The organisation which seemed implicit in the well developed wool industry and perhaps in the dairying concerns of the Duchy is, in fact, proven by the accounts. The

¹⁰ *Victoria County History, Essex*, II (1903), p. 360.

¹¹ Compare this with dairying on the Whitby Abbey estates in the late fourteenth century, e.g. for milk sales, purchase of rennet for coagulating milk, and wages of women for doing the work.

stockmaster was in general supervision of the sheep farming and was particularly responsible for reporting to his superiors on the state of the flocks and re-stocking.¹² Sheep were often brought great distances for this purpose. In 1313, for instance, 84 wethers had been purchased at Ripon Fair and driven the 40 miles to Pickering.¹³ It is likely that the best breeds were to be bought at Ripon which lay so near to the rich Pennine pasture lands. Such long distance conveyance of animals for breeding purposes was not uncommon on the larger estates of the North-East. Whitby Abbey for instance had bought cattle at Barnard Castle in 1301 and driven them almost 60 miles to the Abbey by way of Eskdale.¹⁴

The stockmaster went to Rothwell, near Pontefract, to make his report and along with the Steward's clerk, the Reeve and his clerk, to render account. The whole journey there and back together with the business discussions took four days.¹⁵ Though the stockmaster probably reported on the Pickering stud-farm as well as about the sheep he was not responsible for its running. In fact during the early fourteenth century the management of the pastoral farming on the Pickering estate devolved into the hands of several distinct officials. The stud-farm at Blansby Park—a large tract of woodland and pasture for deer and horses ringed by walls, fences and hedges, north of Pickering—was in charge of a Park Keeper and a Keeper of the Mares.¹⁶ Similarly much of the demesne pasture and meadow was under the aegis of separate officials. There was, for instance, a Keeper of the demesne meadows and of Dalby Dale (a main sheep pasture of the estate), and a Warrener (sometimes also described as Forester) of Castle Ings—an area of rich meadowland in Marishes near the River Derwent, over 100 acres and the source of hay for the stud.¹⁷ How independent these officials were of the stockmaster is not known, and the character of their relationship to him is obscure, but it is possible that they were more directly responsible to the Steward or Bailiff of the Honour, especially in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when leasing of demesne meadows deprived them of many of their old tasks.¹⁸

The stockmaster was always an official of the Duchy until the flocks were disposed of in the fifteenth century. The accounts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries contain frequent references to him and though details of sheep under his control are few, expenses entailed in shearing and management recur.¹⁹ The stockmaster appeared to have flocks of his own; Roger Midelwood had at least 1000 sheep, for example, in 1438—noted, incidentally, for his long and good service as Bailiff and Stockmaster.²⁰ This combination of offices is interesting: there is no indication of it in the early fourteenth century.²¹ This suggests that perhaps the duties of the Stockmaster became less as sheep farming declined on the estate and that he was able to occupy two posts and work them comfortably whereas earlier either one had been a very full-time occupation in itself.

Four shepherds were required to manage the flocks of over 1000 sheep. Temporary labour was employed in particularly busy times, especially for shearing—'the great moment of the sheep farmer's year'. Then such phrases as '10 men assisting the shepherd and watching the sheep on the High Moors' recur frequently. Sometimes lads were hired to watch the lambs. The whole fascinating sequence opens itself out: the washing and shearing which took place on the High Moor; the amazing variety of materials needed such as ointment,

¹² The stockmaster's wage was 6s. 8d., more than the Reeve's (4s. 7d.) but far less than the Bailiff's (£10). There appear to have been two stock-keepers in the early fourteenth century, possibly under the stockmaster.

¹³ N.R.R.S., n.s. 2 (1895), p. 22.

¹⁴ Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 81 (1931), *Monastic Notes* II, p. 51.

¹⁵ N.R.R.S., n.s. 2, p. 23.

¹⁶ In 1490 there was an official here known as Master of the Game as well as the Park Keeper, N.R.R.S., n.s. 1, p. 124.

¹⁷ William Stuttes, Keeper of Castle Ings and the Derwent and Marshal of the Forest on the south had an annual wage of 45s. 7½d. N.R.R.S., n.s. 4, p. 228.

¹⁸ Thus the agistment of Dalby Dale was let out in 1377–78.

¹⁹ E.g. P.R.O. D.L. 29/490/7935/728/11988.

²⁰ P.R.O. D.L. 29/490/7935.

²¹ In 1313–14 the Bailiff was also the Receiver, but the Stockmaster's office was distinct, N.R.R.S., n.s. 2, p. 25.

grease and sulphur; the employment of tiles for branding—the next job after shearing; then the collection of the wool and carrying it down to the wool house at Pickering to be sorted and rolled, ‘in piles in preparation for the arrival of the merchants’, who came from as far afield as Hull, Beverley and York. The shepherds received 4s. 6d. each for their yearly work, almost as much as the Stock-Keepers, who had 6s. 8d. a year as wage. In addition they received an allowance of rye—about 4 quarters each.

But what of the pasture lands—the basis of this activity and wealth? Two main areas were utilised as sheep pasture: the valleys which cut through the gentle dip slope north and east of Pickering, and the High Moors.²² There is no evidence from the accounts to show that sheep were pastured in the Vale of Pickering, although hay for sheep and horses was cut from the carrland meadows owned by the Duchy in the Vale. The agistment of Dalby Dale and adjoining dales was worth £3 to the Duchy in the early fourteenth century. The former dale seems to have been one of the chief pasture grounds—at any rate it was important enough to have a special Keeper of its own whose job was ‘to preserve the game, and woods and meadows for the sheep’. He received 13s. 7½d. in corn for performing this during twenty-six weeks in the year, from January to August. This time limit suggests that the sheep pastured in Dalby Dale only during part of the year. In fact, seasonal movement of sheep on a fairly large scale between the High Moors and Pickering was usual. Summer agistment on the High Moor areas north of Pickering is often mentioned in the accounts. When colder weather began the flocks moved south into folds at Pickering and winter fodder was stored in readiness. This was mainly hay from the Pickering marshes or ingland and from Dalby Dale and its tributary valleys: 47 acres were mown at Dalby Dale for the sheep at a cost of 19s. 7d.; ‘it is so dear because it lies in a remote spot three miles from the village and in a valley within a wood’. But the hay seemed to be preferred to that of the marshes (which was mainly used for the horses of the stud-farm and was better quality). Each sheep, so the account runs, ‘costs ¾d. in hay’ (1325–26).

But the moorland sheep was and is a hardy animal. Even in the coldest conditions it can remain out. ‘The Moreland breed of sheep’, Marshall noted, ‘has always been very different from that of the Vale, and has not perhaps varied during a succession of centuries. It is peculiarly adapted to the extreme bleakness of the climature, and the extreme coarseness of the herbage. They lived upon the open heaths all the year round. Their food heath rushes, and a few coarsest grasses; a pasture on which perhaps every other breed of sheep of this Kingdom would starve’.²³ Duchy sheep, folded and sheltered for a few months of the year, perhaps when snow was on the ground, were sent out again in January after having been fed on hay and ling, which could be cut for winter fodder. Ling, in fact, was an abundant and cheap means of sustenance, used also in the eighteenth century—‘. . . The common and most profitable food for these sheep is ling . . . There are flocks that from year to year have no other food than what they can pick up from heaths and wastes . . . When during winter there is too much snow on the ground for the flocks to go out into the fields . . . they give them cut ling within doors which had been previously stored up for them the preceding autumn’.²⁴ The references to ling and bracken being cut on behalf of the Duchy are many in the early fourteenth century.

The pasture of the High Moor was important both to the Duchy and to residents in the Honour. The Duchy accounts show that by the early fourteenth century settlement of the High Moors had advanced quickly, particularly in the Goathland—Allantofts area—

²² The Duchy received dues from agistment of cattle and sheep in Scalby Hay, Allantofts, Langdale, Fulwood Moor and Cloughton, Hayburn, Horcum Pasture and High Moor. This gives a good indication where the main areas of pasture were to be found. Some agistments were let to farm in the early fourteenth century, but not those of Dalby, High Moor and Blansby (the main areas of Duchy pasture).

²³ W. Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire* (1788), Vol. 2, pp. 221–22.

²⁴ *Communications to the Board of Agriculture* (1797), Vol. 1, pp. 266–67.

moorland well over 900 feet high.²⁵ Enclosure was the corollary to this settlement. 160 acres had been enclosed for tillage in the wood of Allantofts, for instance, in 1282, and when Roger Bigod complained that this had deprived him of the herbage of the area the Duchy's answer was 'that the tenants make inclosures thus is true, for only thus can they derive any profit'.²⁶ In fact, it seemed to be part of the Duchy policy to enclose their demesne and let it out to would-be tenants.²⁷ Undoubtedly a great deal of enclosure and settlement of these high regions had been stimulated by the seasonal agistment of sheep there.²⁸ Folds were built and woods cleared for the purpose: the same thing was going on in Scalby Hay as on the higher areas. Approvements for pasture and meadows were made in Chanyte (Goathland), a vaccary was erected in Wheeldalerigg, 408 acres, 7 pieces of waste, etc. enclosed in Allantofts, and licences to reside on the High Moor were granted.

During the early fourteenth century, the valley pastures, mainly Dalby Dale seemed to be largely used by the Duchy flocks. The High Moor pastures were not so restricted and the animals of all the inhabitants of the Honour used them. There were certain periods for agistment of sheep and cattle however, and if animals were found pasturing at other times they were seized. The Duchy Coucher Book has full records of such cattle 'taken in the Forest' during 1334-35.²⁹ By examining the lists given it becomes possible to see how important cattle and sheep farming was to smallholders living within the Duchy estate. For as Professor Power said, 'it must never be forgotten that thousands of peasant farmers all over England were keeping sheep . . . I have a suspicion that even in the heyday of demesne farming peasant sheep flocks exceeded those of demesne, even though the more scientific farming of the latter may have produced the better wool'.³⁰

The Duchy records of cattle taken in the forest, limited as they are, nevertheless give support to this idea. During 1334-35 more than 800 sheep had been unagisted in fence months at the following places—Ebberston, Allantofts, Dalby demesne, Fulwood moor, Langdale moor, Scalby Hay and—a comprehensive term—'in the earl's demesne'. The details of owners are interesting; invariably they were various including monastic as well as lay farmers. Thus the Preceptor of Foulbridge had 40 wethers in Dalby demesne; Alan de Bilaclif, 100 sheep in Scalby; Ralph Gegge 20 sheep; Ralph Prest of Suffield 50 sheep; Richard Russell 50 sheep; the tenants of Richard de Skelton almost 300 sheep, Henry de Bougheland 60 sheep in Scalby Hay, the township of Cawthorn more than 100 sheep, and so on. Most of the men mentioned (except the Preceptor) were small farmers. Yet they each had fairly large numbers of sheep unagisted, and, presumably their flocks were more numerous than this. The combined flocks of all such men must, it seems, have far exceeded those of the Duchy itself.

The details of animals taken included sheep, pigs, horses, and cattle. The preponderance of sheep over any other animal is a remarkable feature however, and in itself demonstrates the universal importance of sheep farming within the Honour. The number of pigs taken was fairly considerable, especially in certain places. At Seamer, for example, 50 had been taken, at Langdale 36 and many in Scalby Hay (particularly those of the Prior of Bridlington). The numbers of cattle are low, possibly because, unlike sheep, they were not allowed to wander unattended. It is interesting to remember however that little reference to cattle farming, or indeed any cattle at all, was found on the Duchy demesne. In fact, the area covered by the Honour of Pickering was not cattle country. It was in the larger moorland

²⁵ But the decay of rents frequently mentioned in this area illustrate its marginal character, e.g. *N.R.R.S.*, n.s. 4, p. 206. In 1326 land in Goathland and elsewhere on the High Moor could not be let because of 'the poverty of the country' (*ibid.*, p. 248).

²⁶ *N.R.R.S.*, n.s. 2, p. 41.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44. For example Lord Edmund's bailiffs let 160 acres of the wood of Allantofts.

²⁸ See A. R. H. Baker and R. A. Butlin, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge 1973), chapter 4.

²⁹ *N.R.R.S.*, n.s. 3, pp. 47-64.

³⁰ Power, *op. cit.* in n. 6, p. 29.

dales and near the coast that cattle became more important, for instance in Eskdale, Farndale, and Westerdale. The Honour did not include such large dales; its boundaries encompassed only part of Rosedale, for example, and almost the whole of the valley system around Hackness (an important centre of the Whitby Abbey cattle farming) was excluded.

The Duchy had however one other important pastoral activity besides sheep farming: its specialised stud-farm. The stud-farm was located in an area of about 2 square miles north of Pickering, called Blansby Park.³¹ This was a well defined territory since it was surrounded on three sides by deep valleys. Newtondale formed its eastern and southern boundary and a small valley called Haugh Dale marked its western edge. The land within the park sloped gradually from about 500 feet in the north to 250 feet in the south. The park was enclosed by stone walls, fencing and thorn hedges, which served to keep the horses and deer inside. There were about '1300 deer by estimation' in the park which had hay, ivy and holly cut to sustain them 'in time of snow and ice'. Repairs to the enclosure were frequently necessary: 320 perches of fencing had to be restored in 1325 because it had been 'thrown down by a great flood'. Part of the stone wall had to be repaired too, and this took a man two days breaking and digging stone in the quarry to complete the wall because 'the stones in the quarry were partly rotten'.

The care taken over such details illustrates the careful organisation with which the whole stud was superintended. Thorn trees and rushes were stubbed up from inside the park so that the horses would have good pasture, and agistment of cattle or sheep was forbidden except when the mares were not there.

The stud-farm was not large: details of its composition are only available for 1322 and for 1325-27. The accounts for 1313-14 contain no direct reference to the stud, but Blansby Park and expenses connected with it are mentioned several times. Then, as later, there was a Park-Keeper. What eventually became of the stud is also obscure. It was perhaps disbanded in the period for which there is no record, 1327-77, for in the subsequent accounts consulted there appears to be no reference to it. The following table summarises the details known about its composition in the early part of the century.

Date	Stallions	Mares	3 year olds	2 year olds	Year-lings	Foals
Mar.-Nov. 1322		21		5		6
Sept. 1325	2	17	6	7	4	10
Sept. 1326						
Sept. 1326	2	18	9	8	13	
Sept. 1327						
Sept. 1327		18	8	10	13	
Dec. 1327						

Stallions generally remained only temporarily on the farm before going elsewhere. It was usual, in fact, for the Master of the King's Horse to send them from the royal stud farm in Knaresborough Forest to Blansby Park for breeding purposes. Thus two black stallions, Morel of Merton and Morel of Tutbury, were sent by Adam de Hoddesdon under the king's writ of privy seal to cover the mares in the park from 22 April to 24 May,

³¹ Evidence used in this section is also from Duchy accounts, *N.R.R.S.* n.s. 4, pp. 195-270. Cf. also A. A. Dent, 'King's Horses at Pickering', *The Dalesman*, 33 (1971), pp. 290-92.

1325. Deliveries of colts and fillies were made fairly regularly to Adam de Hoddesdon, the king's Master of the Horse, 'for the king's use'. In 1326 six colts were despatched to London and it took six grooms 22 days to get there. The journey was made in fine weather from June into July and when London was reached it was eight days before the colts were delivered to the king.

The stud was supervised by the Keeper of the Mares who no doubt worked in liaison with the Park Keeper. The latter received a yearly wage of 6s. 8d.—as much as the stock-master—he had a very responsible position. In addition he received an allowance of corn worth 15s. 10½d. a year. There were several buildings in the park, the chief one being the stud house. There was a hay barn in which winter fodder for the horses was stored. A later survey of the Duchy Lordship in 1608 mentions two lodges in the park, an upper and lower in which two keepers resided. By 1608 the walls surrounding had decayed in many places and there were said to be only 100 deer in the park. There were at least 300 cattle pastured there at this time each year. Besides the buildings referred to, shelters were made in various parts of the park for the deer in the fourteenth century.

Large amounts of provender were bought for the stud. Hay was carefully selected. Of the three main sources—the valleys, the marshlands and around Pickering itself—the second was the best. Hay from nearby Pickering was described as 'hard and rushy' and consequently was cheap. But prices varied according to several interesting factors, which small and incidental as they are bring medieval farming to life. Thus hay cut in Blansby Park itself was dear 'because it lay in the shade within the covert'; in 1322 the high price was due to the need to re-spread and remake 'on account of the rainy weather'. Another year, the hay was poor quality because of the dry summer. Sometimes, the price was more because the distances the hay was brought were long, at Dalby, for example it lay 'in a remote spot'. The best quality hay appears to have been brought from the Marishes district south of Pickering. The Duchy owned over 100 acres of meadowland at Castle Ings near the junction of the Rye and Derwent rivers. Though this was about 9 miles from the Park, it, together with the Rievaulx grange of Kekmarsh nearby, supplied most of the fodder for the stud. The importance of Castle Ings can be judged from the special officer who had custody over it whose wage was as high as 45s. 7½d. a year. It was the practice to burn the old grass in the Ings about February to encourage the growth of new and luscious herbage—'et in veteri herba comburenda in pratis de Edithmerske ut nova herba possit ibidem crescere post festum Purificationis beate Marie VIII d.' This was a common practice in the moorlands where burning of heather stimulated the growth of succulent shoots for sheep to graze on. The right of burning heather was, incidentally, vigorously demanded by the Abbot of Rievaulx in the Helmsley district.³²

The Pickering estate of the Duchy furnishes an example of the lands of a great magnate whose wealth in that area was based on sheep farming. The de Fortibus estate had been developed in the marshes of Holderness not far away as another large sheep rearing region, but different conditions there resulted in different organisation and emphasis. Besides, the de Fortibus sheep farm was most flourishing in the boom period of the thirteenth century. There is no evidence to show whether the Duchy, too, participated in those years of high farming. Available evidence for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows that even in what was a period of decline in wool growing elsewhere, at Pickering a strong specialisation in sheep farming persisted.

There was a certain distinctiveness about the Pickering estate which derived partly from its careful organisation, specialisation and its long history. The intricate hierarchy of officials conducting the estate's business was so contrived that management of regional estates and of the Duchy as a whole dovetailed perfectly. This was an organisation scarcely

³² *Rievaulx Chartulary*, Surtees Society Vol. 83 (1889), p. 3: 'Dicit ergo quod contra eundem finem comburi facit brueriam in pastura infra praedictos boscos ad magnum detrimentum praedictae pasturae'.

inferior in scope and efficiency to that of the monasteries, the other great sheep farmers in the area. Like the monastic farmer, the Duchy estate showed adaptation to geographical conditions, a vast influence and a stability in a period of decline rarely found elsewhere in England. It is little wonder that the political power of the Dukes of Lancaster became so strong when their economic position was so firmly established.

AN EXCAVATION AT NEVILLE CASTLE, KIRKBYMOORSIDE, NORTH YORKSHIRE, 1974

BY R. A. H. WILLIAMS

Summary This was the third of recent rescue excavations on the site of Neville Castle, a late mediaeval hunting-lodge of the Earls of Westmorland. The work was undertaken on behalf of the Department of the Environment in advance of building development. The plan of the lodge is still unclear. The exterior face of the south wall of the hall and the eastern half of an adjacent kitchen to the south were examined; these buildings were disused by about 1600. Slight remains of earlier and later structures were also encountered, dating from c. 1300 to the present day. The finds are to be deposited in the Yorkshire Museum at York and the site record at North Yorkshire County Record Office at Northallerton.

The parish of Kirkbymoorside lies on the southern edge of the North Yorkshire Moors between Bransdale, the valley of the Hodge Beck, on the east, and Farndale, the valley of the River Dove, on the west. These two streams converge to the south of the town which stands back to the north of the main Thirsk-Scarborough road, the A170, midway between Helmsley and Pickering. Neville Castle stood slightly to the north of the town on ground sloping down from the north-east to the south-west between the 91 m (300 ft) and 83 m (270 ft) contours at grid reference SE 695869. On the west a steep slope down into Manor Vale, a dry river valley, formed the castle's western boundary, while the remainder of the grounds lay in three fields known until recently as Manor Vale, Horse Park and Calf Garth. About 500 m east of Neville Castle lies the moated enclosure known as Stuteville Castle, while about 200 m to the south stands High Hall, an early seventeenth-century building; these represent the predecessor and successor of Neville Castle.

The subsoil of Kirkbymoorside has been variously reported as a Jurassic sandstone with pockets of shales, Liassic clays and iron stones,¹ as an inferior oolite,² and as a sandstone of the upper calcareous grit.³ Excavation showed it to be a red sandstone sloping gradually down to the south-west and covered with a dense red clay.

The history of the manor is dealt with elsewhere.⁴ From about 1200 the Stuteville family held Kirkbymoorside and reputedly lived in the moated enclosure bearing their name. At some period the manorial residence moved to the site under discussion. The manor passed from the Stutevilles into various hands and eventually became the property of the Nevilles, Earls of Westmorland. In 1569 the sixth earl was attainted and Kirkbymoorside was forfeited to the Crown. A farmer leased the castle up to the end of the sixteenth century.

PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS

At the turn of the last century a local clergyman undertook an excavation which several local people remembered. This was backfilled with rubbish until about 1920, when it was finally covered over. No record of this excavation has been traced.

In 1962 Mr. Brian Davison of the Department of the Environment excavated five trial trenches against the west boundary of Manor Garth (see Fig. 1). Here he uncovered several mortared stone walls standing to window-sill height.⁵ Details of this excavation are available in the Department's files.

¹ A. M. Dornier, 'Neville Castle, Kirkbymoorside - Excavations 1963 and 1965', *Y.A.J.* 42 (1967), pp. 98-102.

² *Victoria County History of Yorkshire (North Riding)*, 1 (1914), p. 511.

³ M. K. Maw, 'The excavation of a well at Kirkbymoorside', *Transactions of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society* 2, no. 16 (1970), p. 25.

⁴ *Op. cit.* in n. 1 and 2.

⁵ *Y.A.J.* 41 (1963), p. 8; *Medieval Archaeology* 8 (1964), pp. 274-5.

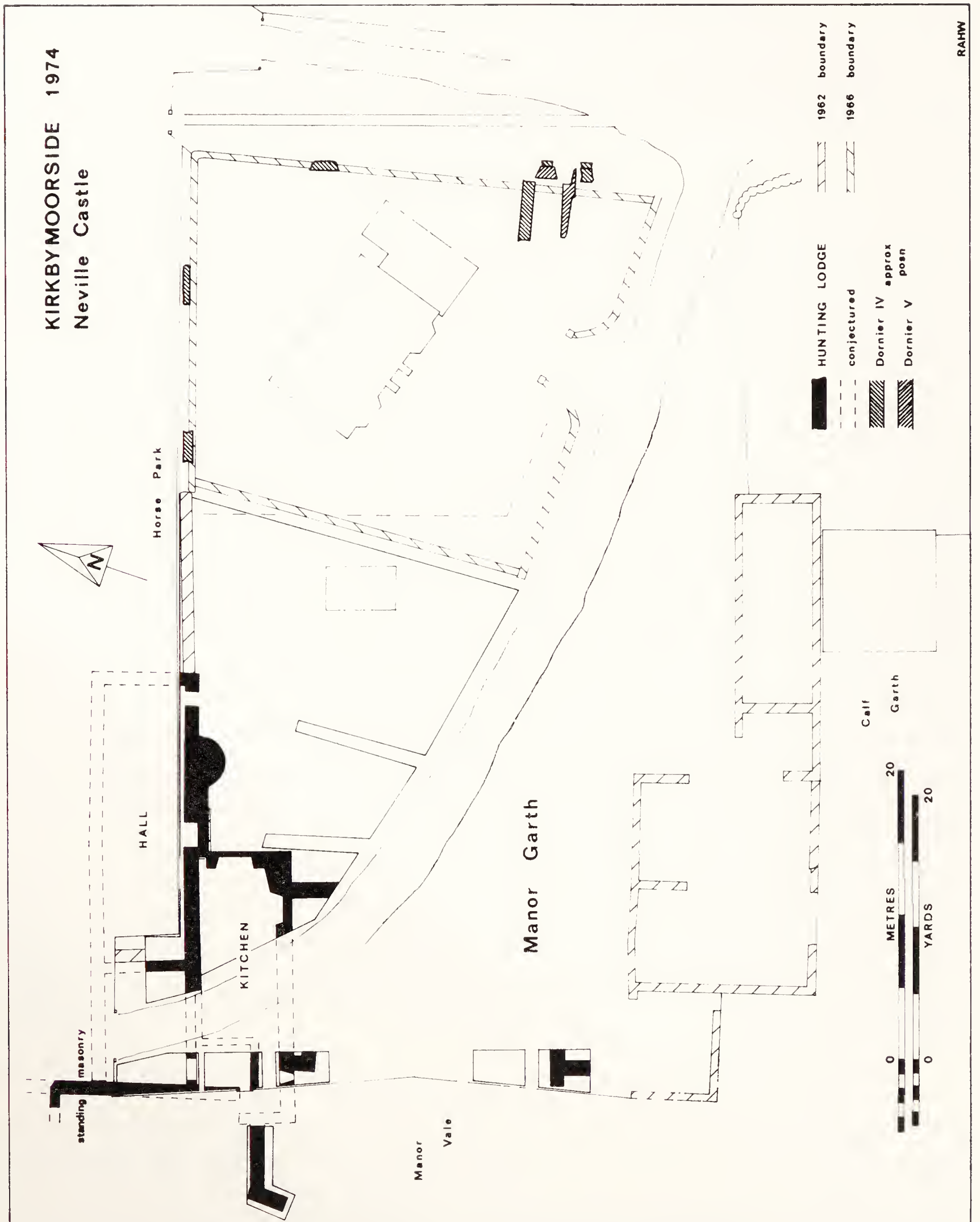


FIG. 1. 'Neville Castle' – the Hunting Lodge of the Nevilles.

Miss Ann Dornier of Leicester University spent two seasons in 1963 and 1965 excavating the north-east corner of Manor Garth in advance of the building of a detached house (see Fig. 1).⁶ Five periods of building were distinguished. The first was a cruck-built hall on stone foundations and with a kitchen to the east. Later the kitchen was demolished and a new kitchen or solar wing was erected above it. When this new wing became disused the east end of the hall was walled off. The last two periods of building concern a more substantial stone-built structure of fifteenth-sixteenth-century date. These walls are shown on Fig. 1, in approximate positions only, and are referred to below as Dornier IV and V.

THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1974

The main excavation area lay in the north-west corner of Manor Garth to the north of the track which bisects the field. A survey of 1780 shows the boundaries of this field and the track much as they are now; one of the barns in the south of the field may date to 1796.⁷ In the early 1960's Messrs. T. Cook and Sons of Kirkbymoorside owned Manor Garth. They sold the north-east corner, then an orchard, to Mr. Stuart Cook in 1963, and it was this area that Miss Dornier excavated in 1963 and 1965. In 1974 the north-west corner of the field was sold to Mr. R. P. Wood who, immediately after the excavation, built a detached house and had the plot landscaped. One small trench was excavated in Manor Vale, the property of Mr. James Holt.⁸

Nine principal periods of building were distinguished. In most cases the larger parts of these buildings lay to the north in Horse Park, an area not threatened by development. Consequently further excavation will undoubtedly modify the results of this excavation.

The earliest structure, A, was a foundation of pitched limestones bonded with soil and was apparently overlain by a second foundation, B, of pitched limestones and sandstones patchily mortared (Fig. 3). The foundation trench for part of the hunting-lodge was cut through both these foundations, and both were sealed by a layer of brown soil some 0.20 m deep which underlay the foundations of Buildings D and E.

THE HUNTING-LODGE

The substantial masonry of the Nevilles' hunting-lodge forms the third building period, C. A description of the lodge in 1570 stated that it was 'Builded all of stone, and covered with Leade and slate', thus substantiating its identification.⁹ That part of the lodge which cut foundations A and B was an extension to the earlier structure which could therefore predate them. Both these foundations and the lodge extension were constructed from the same level, while Buildings D and E were constructed from a higher level. It thus seems likely that the lodge extension predates Buildings D and E.

The relationship between the standing masonry in Manor Vale and the excavated portions of the hunting-lodge is shown on Fig. 1. The portion excavated in 1974 consisted of the south wall of the hall and the east end of the kitchen. These are shown in greater detail on Figure 2, which includes an elevation of the south wall of the hall.

⁶ *Op. cit.* in n. 1.

⁷ North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton, MSS. ZEW, etc. These records were made available by courtesy of the representatives of the late Earl of Feversham.

⁸ The excavations were directed by the author and Stephen Coll on behalf of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Department of the Environment, in April and May 1974. Finances were handled by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. Permission to excavate was granted by Mr. R. P. Wood and James Holt, Esq., who also provided a camp site. A team of, on average, ten undertook the work, and thanks are due to Johanna Clarke, Valerie Fine, Joan Johanneson, Frances McGeown, Maria Weld, Jane Welyczko, Graham Black, David Fine, Edward Hammonds, Brian Hodgkinson, Bill Lindsay, Jem Poster and Mike Shaw. Glyn Coppack of the Inspectorate gave extensive help both during the excavation and during the preparation of this report. I would finally like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Cook of Manor Garth for their many kindnesses during our stay.

⁹ *Op. cit.* in n. 7.

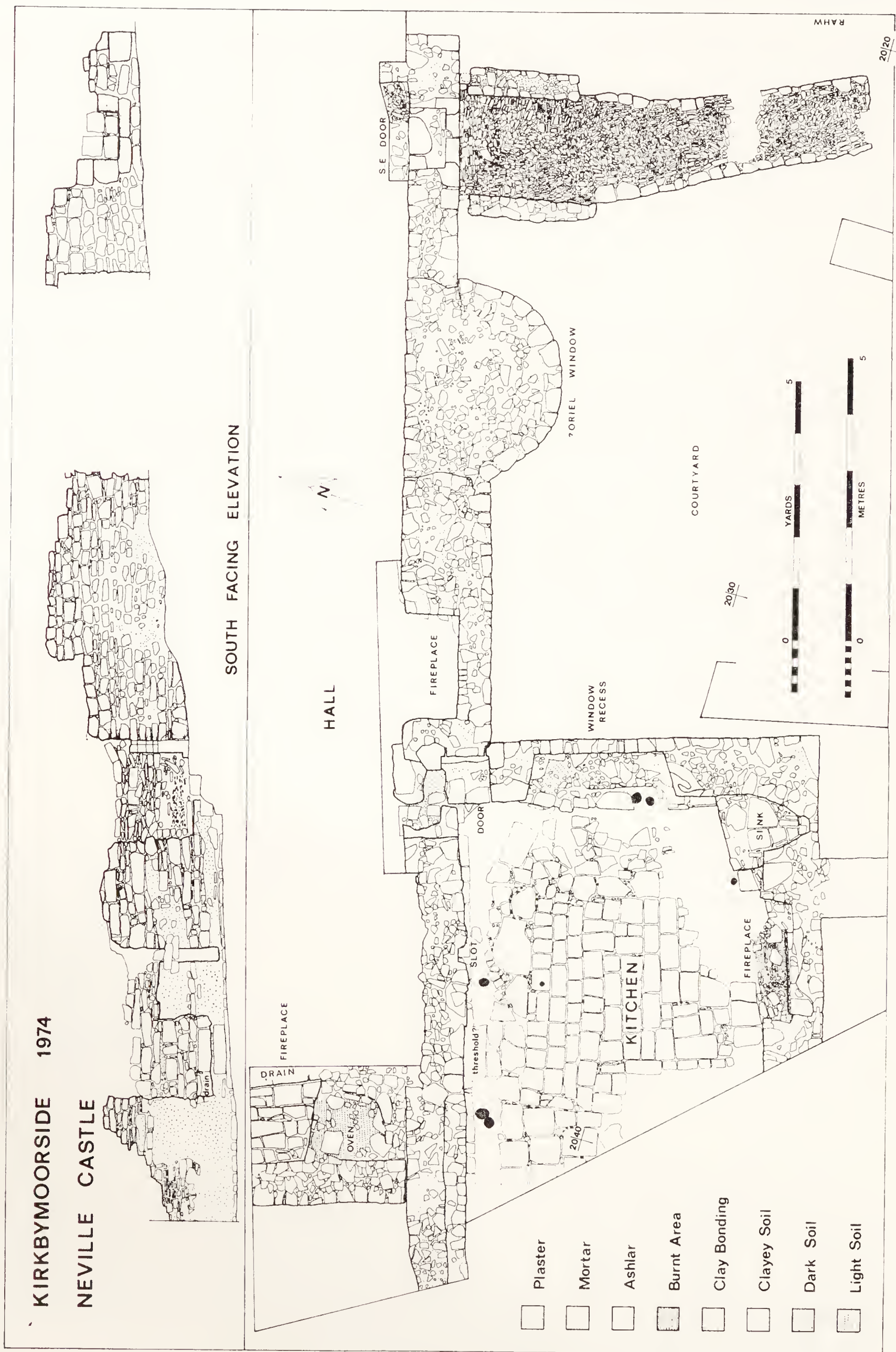


FIG. 2. 'Neville Castle' - 1974 excavations. See Appendix for structural details.

The original kitchen was probably represented by the northernmost of the north walls which could have continued to meet the east wall. Entrance was gained through the blocked doorway in the north-east corner of the room and light was admitted through the window recess in the east wall. That wall running south from the kitchen was contemporary. In the later kitchen the floor was lowered, as on Figure 2; the north wall was widened and partially rebuilt; the east wall remained unchanged and in consequence had part of its foundation revealed; and the south wall was considerably changed by the insertion of a new fireplace and a sink. The wall running south was demolished and the outfall from the sink ran over its site.

Originally the hall may not have extended east of the kitchen. However, at some stage it was so extended and the north-east door of the kitchen was blocked up. At this time the door stood to a height of at least 1.70 m, as indicated by a convex image in the wall mortar of the concave moulding of the doorway. At the east end of the hall the south wall was considerably thinner than at the west end, and the semi-circular base of a bay window (?) appeared to have been inserted in the line of both. The south-east doorway seemed to be contemporary with the surrounding masonry, and the very fine cobbled path leading up to it was probably of the same date. At the west end of the hall was a late addition, a partition wall, which abutted on the hall wall and seemed to be integral with a fireplace, and a stone drain which passed the base of the fireplace and emptied into the kitchen, by then presumably out of use. This drain passed into the kitchen through a break in the wall which may mark the site of a doorway, where a large stone which may have acted as a threshold remained in position. A further break to the east was a later intrusion to accommodate a pathway.

Down the slope in Manor Vale some masonry already partly visible was partly exposed. A buttress lay at about 70 degrees to a wall on the same line as the hall and kitchen. The west face of the buttress was built of well-faced axe-tooled sandstone; similar blocks of chamfered stone formed its plinth. The buttressed wall and the standing masonry could have formed part of a solar wing.

To the east of the hunting-lodge lay the south walls of two buildings on the same axis as the lodge. The later building, E, was cut through the earlier building, D, and may have been built up against the east wall of the lodge. Five courses of closely-packed flat limestones set in brown soil, each offset some 2 cm behind the one beneath, formed the earlier wall. A posthole interrupted these stones. Only two courses of stone were present in the later wall of Building E, but these were offset 10 cm and consisted of larger stones. Three interruptions may have been the sites of postholes.

After the abandonment of the hunting-lodge as a residence four general periods of building activity were evident. First a number of postholes were dug through the debris in the kitchen, probably to support some temporary roof. Later a pathway was constructed through the kitchen, sealing the postholes. Contemporary with this was a stone stile, just to the west of the path. At about the same time a small bread oven was constructed in the remains of the late fireplace in the hall. Later still, and until quite recently, various timber structures were built in the open area to the south-east of the lodge. Thirty postholes, some with the remains of wooden posts within them, and a few pits were recorded. Two of the pits contained animal burials, of a cow and of a dog. The final building activity was the construction of the dry-stone wall which originally ran the whole length of the north boundary of Manor Garth and overlay the hunting-lodge walls.

FINDS

With the exception of several large moulded and worked stones, which are at the Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole, near Kirkbymoorside, the finds are to be deposited

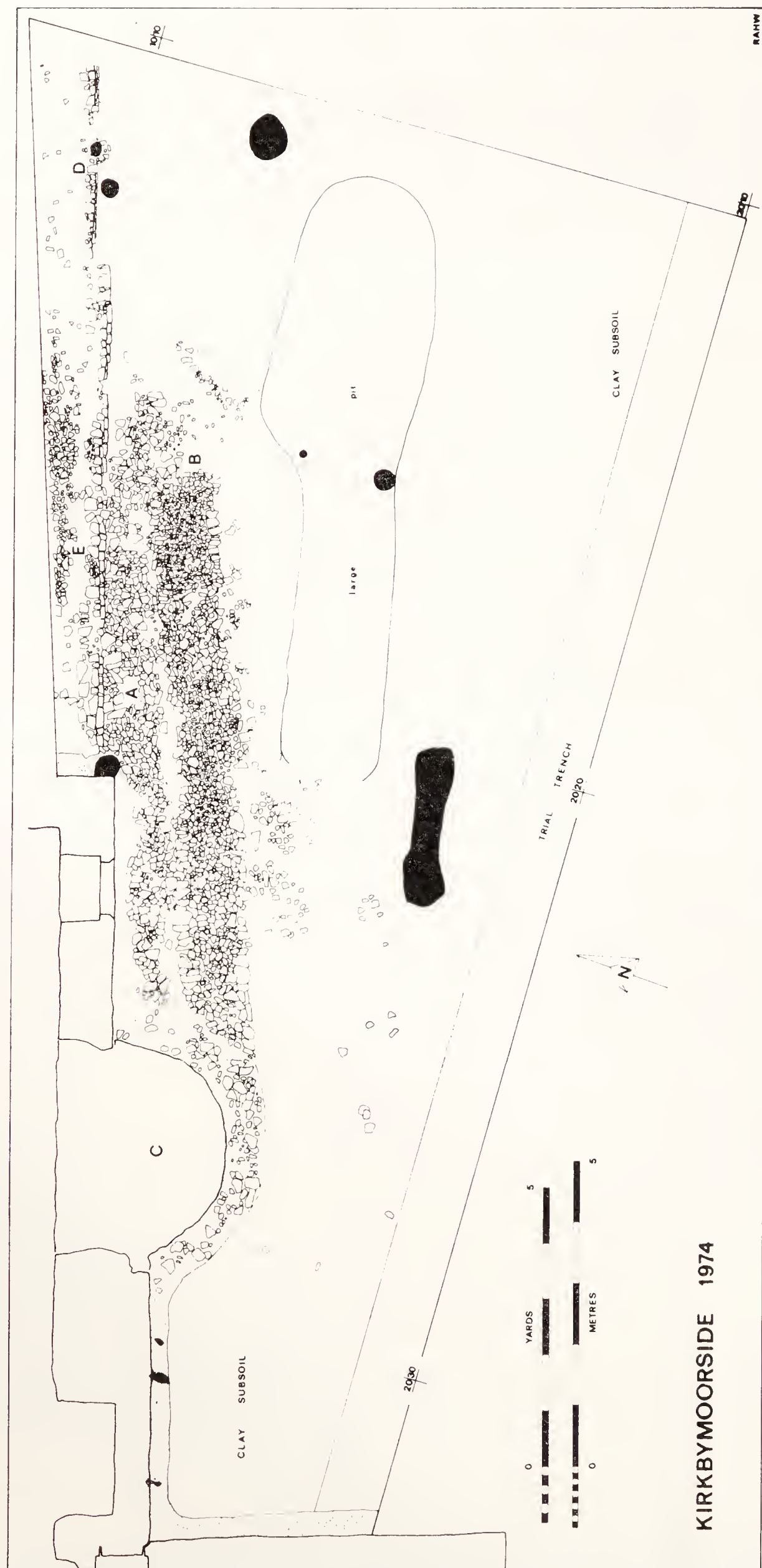


FIG. 3. 'Neville Castle' – other building phases.

at the Yorkshire Museum, York. In due course it is hoped to publish a fuller account of the finds, which are mostly awaiting specialist treatment.

Large amounts of red pottery roofing tiles were found throughout the site. Both the type affixed with nails and thus displaying two holes, and the self-hanging type affixed with nibs or hangers were present. In the kitchen debris and at the base of the bay window many stone tiles with nail holes occurred. Surprisingly few iron nails were recovered, just over two hundred. Also at the base of the bay window lay a large quantity of broken window glass and twisted lead came. The largest piece of glass came from a diamond measuring 15 by 10 centimetres.

Of quite a large quantity of metal objects, including a silver shilling of Edward VI; eight pins, two thimbles, a ring and a brooch in bronze, and four keys, three buckles and three pairs of scissors in iron, none was usefully stratified.

About fifty sherds of mediaeval pottery were recovered, mostly from the disturbed subsoil and features dug through it. In the demolition layers in the kitchen and at the base of the bay window, pottery dated from the late sixteenth century, most falling into the seventeenth century. Present were examples of Cistercian ware, Delft 'tin glaze', stoneware (including a few sherds of Cologne manufacture with Caesar medallions) and local green-glazed ware. These latter were mostly plates and bowls but included several 'vase' type storage vessels. A pottery whistle of Saintonge manufacture and probably dating to the sixteenth century was found in the topsoil.

Animal bone was found throughout the site and representative samples kept. Twenty-six clay pipe bowls, none stamped, and many stems were found mostly in the topsoil and the fill of the kitchen.

CONCLUSIONS

The pitched stone foundations, A and B, may have been the base of a path or perhaps floor make-up of some sort. Pottery from the large shallow pit to the south of them, which was constructed from the same level, dated to the fourteenth century. The later walls of Buildings D and E were constructed from a higher level than the hunting lodge which suggests they postdate the lodge. However in 1963 and 1965 Ann Dornier found similar buildings along the north boundary of Manor Garth which, she thought, were earlier than the 'substantial masonry' of the lodge. Further excavation in Horse Park to the north may reveal the purpose of these buildings which may either be manorial or perhaps part of a farm complex.

The hunting-lodge was built in the style of the fifteenth or sixteenth century but may represent the rebuilding of an earlier stone-built manor house. There are re-used stones in the window recess of the original kitchen and tooling on the buttress in Manor Vale is typical of the earlier mediaeval period. Only after further excavation will the complete plan of the lodge be revealed and perhaps then the several periods of rebuilding and extension will be better understood. Pottery in the demolition material in the kitchen and at the base of the bay window is of the late sixteenth century and at this time the lodge was leased to a farmer. He may well have lived in part and converted the remainder for agricultural use. By the end of the seventeenth century High Hall had become the new 'manor house'.

APPENDIX Structural Details of the Hunting Lodge (Fig. 2)

The walls were of rubblestone construction, built of local (?) limestone and sandstone and bonded with a hard mortar which varied in consistency from wall to wall. The hall partition wall was bonded with soil. None of the walls were dismantled and in general the foundations were not excavated.



FIG. 4. 'Neville Castle' – the Hunting Lodge from the south, showing the bay window in the hall.



FIG. 5. 'Neville Castle' – the kitchen from the south-west.



FIG. 6. 'Neville Castle' – the window recess in the kitchen from the west.



FIG. 7. 'Neville Castle' – the fireplace in the kitchen from the north.

The north wall of the kitchen stood to a height of 2.20 m. To the west it consisted of two walls. The northern was 0.68 m wide and footed 0.80 m higher than the southern which was 0.40 m wide. To the east the wall continued at the same depth as the southern limb. The whole of the southern face was plastered and rested on an offset plinth. The west wall of the kitchen was 1.04 m wide and stood to a height of 0.72 m; its foundation was visible in the window recess. The west and south walls of the kitchen and the wall to the south were all tied in together and stood to the same height. In the hall extension the south wall was in three sections, the middle section being the bay window base. In the west where the wall was built into a doorway it was 2.00 m high and 1.58 m wide; in the east it was 0.87 m wide and stood to a height of 1.80 m. The corner of the building was marked by fine ashlar quoining.

Both the north-east door of the kitchen and the south-east door of the hall were formed by fine ashlar blocks and possessed ashlar thresholds. The kitchen jambs were decorated with a concave moulding and the hall jambs were chamfered.

Large ashlar blocks with V-shaped mason's marks formed the corners of the window recess in the east wall of the kitchen. The back was built of tooled stones, probably re-used from an earlier building. Inserted into the line of the south wall of the hall was the base of a bay window with a diameter of 3.60 m.

The rectangular fireplace in the west end of the hall had the remains of a fine ashlar moulding on the east side; this took the form of an attached shaft. In the kitchen the fireplace had disintegrated badly due to intense use and its exact shape was difficult to determine; it may have replaced an earlier hearth. Integral with the hall partition was a fireplace with a fine flagged floor and a step down to floor level.

A drain ran along the base of this fireplace and emptied into the kitchen, it was 0.40 m wide and capped with limestones. The sink in the kitchen jettisoned waste through a small hole into a ditch which ran across the wall to the south. A quern fragment formed part of the base of the sink. The flagstone floor of the kitchen retained traces of mortar bonding. It was generally well-laid but may have been repaired or re-laid. Leading to the south-east entrance to the hall was a cobbled pathway built of a single course of well packed cobbles and bordered by two small retaining walls. There may have been a pentice in front of the doorway since two flat stones, dotted on the plan, may have been post pads. The oven built in the ruins of the hall was roughly constructed of severely burnt sandstone blocks, some of which were re-used.

THE MISCONDUCT OF LORD LATIMER, 1553-60

BY JAMES HITCHCOCK

Summary Lord Latimer was accused in 1553 and 1557 of various acts of assault and perhaps of murder. Evidence submitted by his wife to an ecclesiastical court in c. 1560 argues his cruelty as a reason why she should not be forced to live with him. This evidence is transcribed as an example of a counter-libel in a suit for the restoration of conjugal rights.

John Neville, fourth baron Latimer (Latymer) was born c. 1520 and succeeded to the title upon the death of his father, also named John, in 1543. The third baron had taken as his second wife Catherine Parr, who was thus the step-mother of the subject of the document below. The third baron had married this woman of staunch Protestant convictions despite his own participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. John, the fourth baron, is known to have fought in France in 1544 and in Scotland in 1545, and in 1540 had married Lucy, daughter of Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester.¹

On April 16, 1553, Latimer was committed to the Fleet for his 'misdemeanors' towards his servant Dorothy Wiseman. In June he was reported to owe the Crown a fine of £2000,² whether in this connection or some other being unspecified.

In July, 1556, the Council in the North was ordered to look into his case and, if he was culpable, to summon him.³ However, in January, 1556/7, he was ordered to appear before the Privy Council. The summons was repeated in August, and in that month he presented himself to undergo examination in connection with the death of an unidentified woman.⁴

In 1557 one Thomas Edwards wrote to the Earl of Rutland that he had heard that 'lord Latymer wolde have ravished the wyfe of the house where he lay, and . . . stroke the goodman ther. Ther was such an owte cry . . . that the constables and strete rose and sette hym owte of hys house, and brought hym throwe Chepsyde to the Maeres . . .', followed by a pack of boys. Instead of being put in the Counter, Latimer was sent to the Fleet, "to grete a villany for a nobleman," in Edwards' opinion.⁵

From September until the following November he appeared regularly before the Council, evidently to prove his availability but without apparently been examined.⁶ On November 11 the case was sent to Star Chamber, although Latimer continued to make his appearances before the Council.⁷ In July, 1558, he was forbidden to alienate his lands or marry his daughters without permission of the Crown, and he was still required to attend on the Council. In August an overseer was named for his tenants, since he was being detained 'for good cause.'⁸

The disposition of his case in Star Chamber is unknown. However, in February, 1558/9, suit was brought on his behalf at court because of the fine levied on him in the previous reign. He was again in the Fleet.⁹ At that point the Privy Council ceased to record any proceedings against him.

¹ George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, rev. Vicary Gibbs, ed. H. A. Doubleday and Lord Howard De Walden (London, 1929), VII, 452, 481-85. Burke's *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage*, ed. Peter Townend (London, 1967), pp. 1448-49. Arthur F. Kinney, *Titled Elizabethans* (Hamden, Conn., 1973), pp. 42-43.

² *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. John Roche Dasent, IV (London, 1892), 256, 284.

³ *Ibid.*, V (1892), 312.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI (1893), 44, 143, 159.

⁵ *Complete Peerage*, VII, 484.

⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council*, pp. 169, 171-80, 182-83, 188-90, 193-95, 197.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-200, 203.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 349, 362.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VII (1893), 457.

There is confusion as to the date of his assault on Dorothy Wiseman, since the Privy Council had information of such an attack in 1553 but the petition for separation gave it as 1559/60. Probably it happened more than once. It is also probable that the assault mentioned by Thomas Edwards in 1557 was a separate incident involving a different woman. Evidently it occurred while Latimer was in London to answer charges from the previous affray.

The fact that Latimer ceased to interest the Privy Council after February, 1558/9, suggests that he received his pardon. His release was evidently followed by a second attack on Dorothy Wiseman, along with another servant. The later attack occurred at his house at Snape, North Yorkshire.

The date of the Latimers' original separation is uncertain. The document below (Sec. 2) misleadingly implies that they did not live together between 1543 and 1549, although they had children born in 1546, 1548, 1549, and 1550 (see below). Although they dwelt together in 1550, in that year and the following three years they were separated, at Lord Latimer's wish (Sec. 4). After that his wife claimed that she dared not come near him. Apparently he sued in the ecclesiastical courts, several years later, for restoration of his marital rights, and this document was in his wife's answer to the suit. It is undated.

In 1557 the Earl of Shewsbury reported to the queen that he could not convey Lord Latimer's daughter to her mother because of the girl's illness. Latimer asked that she be allowed to remain with the earl for the time being, since his wife already had his other daughters, with his consent.¹⁰

The following document is in Durham Cathedral Library (Raine MSS. 124, ff. 6-7). It is contained in a volume of miscellaneous documents, mostly from the ecclesiastical courts, kept by Robert Swift, vicar general of the diocese of Durham 1561-77. It is probable that Swift kept the book for examples of various types of legal documents, this serving as an example of a counter-libel in a suit for restoration of matrimonial rights. Material given in brackets is translated from the Latin.

[(In the name of God. Amen.) In the presence of our most reverend father in God and very good lord Thomas (Young—ed.) by divine permission archbishop of York, primate of England, and metropolitan, and of the commissioners of our lady the Queen here gathered, rightfully and lawfully deputed to hear and determine ecclesiastical causes in the diocese and province of York, the Lady Lucy Lattimer, wife of the most noble Lord John Latymer, states, alleges, and puts forth in law as follows, saving only anything contrary to the respect owed the same John, Lord Latimer:]

In margin:

[Contrary matter in a case of restitution of conjugal obedience, setting forth by oral testimony the cause why conjugal obedience ought not to be restored.]

In a different hand

before the High Comm.

- 2 [(In the first place) it is allowed to be true that the most noble Lord Latimer and the aforementioned Lady Lucy his wife are believed to have truly, unconditionally, and legally solemnized marriage between themselves in the sight of the church twenty years (illegible—ed.) and to have consummated it for the procreation of offspring; and after that (illegible—ed.) solemnization, as it is thought, to have dwelt together truly as man and wife for some years, namely, the years of our Lord 1540, 1541, and 1542, and in 1550 in the months of January and February, and many (illegible—ed.) years and months. Nevertheless, the same Lady Lucy ought not to be compelled and required by your reverences to return to the said most noble John, Lord Latimer, her husband, and to dwell with him. And from the causes and reasons following, she the

¹⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, ed. Robert Lemon, I (1856), 92-93.

most noble Lady Lucy alleges and states], That the said Jo: lorde Lattymer savinge his lordship honor and Reverence is an hath been by the yeares and monthes above written and eny of them a man gyven to great lustyness and Anger and full of malancoly and Crueltie, not only to wards other d m s and many psent, but also namely towards the said dame Lucye his wife. [And these allegations were notorious, manifest, and well known in the town of Cestren¹¹ in the diocese and province of York, where the same most noble Lord John Latimer then dwelt, being a resident of the place but not a burgess,¹² and where he still remains and dwells. And she alleges and states to the court as above. (ITEM) She alleges and states] that the said Lord Lattymer in the yeares and monthes above written (illegible—ed.) [in one and several years as above stated, in the village of S. (Snape—ed.) and several other places in the diocese and province of York] did use great Crueltie towards the said dame Lucye his wife once dyvers and many tymes in svere beatings of hir, castinge her downe under his fete, trailinge hir about the chamber by the haire of the heade, bunshinge hir with his fete, not only at such tyme as she was not with childe, but also at such tymes as she was great with childe, and nere the tyme of hir childe birth to the great p ill and dannger of the Life of the said Dame Lucye his wyfe, and also hath not spared to use great crueltie towards hir even at his table at dyner tyme and supper tyme.

- 3 [(ITEM—ed.) she alleges and states that in these various years and months in the town of S. (Snape—ed.) and various other places in the diocese and province of York] once div's and many tymes hath drawne his daggar at the said Dame Lucy his wife, and threatened to sticke hir with the same, And also hath threatned to cut hir throte, and also haithe throune his daggar at hir verrey likely to have slaine hir, had not been the good grace and helpe of almightie god, and And also wolde have casten or drowned hir in a fishe ponde in his garding or orcharde at S: afforesaid, And he the saide Lorde Lattymer, hath confessed and graunted that he was in mynde and purpose so to have
- 4 done, [And she alleges as above, ITEM, she alleges and states] that after the said Lorde Lattymer had handled the said dme Lucy his wife as is aforesaid beinge wery of hir company, and bearinge towards hir a great hatred and malice did sende his men and his horses to cary the said dame Lucy his wife frome his howse at snape where he then dwelled; and further of his company to Chipstowe in wales where the same dame Lucy hir mother then dwelt. And this he did in yeare of our lorde god 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553., In the monthes of Aprill may et februarye and m'ch or one of them, sence w^{ch} tyme the said the said (*sic*) Dame Lucy durst never come to him nor approach to his Company for great fear and danger of hir life. [And she alleges as above.]
- 5 [ITEM. She alleges and states] that the said Lorde Lattymer savinge his Lordships Honor and Reverence haithe been and is a man of suche cruell stomache, that he in his fury and anger, in the yeares of our lorde god 1559 and 1560 [in the months of April and May and various years and months, in the town of S. (Snape—ed.) and several other places in the province and diocese of York] did cut of the eare or eares of one Dorothy wiseman And did sticke or prod into the thighe one An waite with his sworde or daggar unto the great p ill and Dannger of their Lyves, and p ill of their bodies, wch women did kepe company with the said L. Lattymer familierly in howse at S: afforesaid, by wch it appeareth that no women to whome the said L. Lattymer beareth the anger malice or hattred can kepe company with the said L. Lattymer hir husbände for dowte and feare of his said great crueltie. [And she alleges and states these things.]
- 6 [(ITEM) She alleges and states that these premises, all and each one, were notorious, manifest, and well known in the village of S. (Snape—ed.) and several other places in the diocese and province of York, as above.]

¹¹ Possibly Kestern.

¹² "Censore."

(WHEREFORE) the premisses so mjche thereof as is sufficient being pved the said Dame Lucy most humblye desireth and most earnestly Requireth of your most honorable grace, and others your associates the Quenes maiesties commissioners: that by your aucthorytie she maie be pmitted and tollerated to dwell and remayne seperated from the said Lorde Lattymmer hir husband unto such tyme as it shall please almighty god to endew hir said husbände with a better and more quyet mynde & for the w^{ch} she shall dailye pray to the infynyte mercy and goodness of almighty god.

The Latimers' separation was evidently permanent. He died at Snape on April 22, 1577, and was buried at Well. His wife died February 23, 1581/2, and was buried in Hackney parish church. She had ordered her own tomb, with likenesses of herself and her daughters and Lord Latimer's coat of arms.¹³ In 1591 a tomb for Lord Latimer, with an effigy of himself, was erected at Well and is still in existence.¹⁴

Lord Latimer had four daughters but no son, and his daughters became co-heiresses. Catherine (1546-96) married first Sir Henry Percy, later eighth Earl of Northumberland (died 1583), and then Sir Francis Fitton. Dorothy (1548-1609) married Thomas Cecil, later second Lord Burghley and first Earl of Exeter, son of William Cecil. Lucy (1549-1608) married Sir William Cornwallis. Elizabeth (1550-?) married first Sir John Danvers (died 1594) and then Sir Edmund Carey. Catherine and Dorothy are buried in Westminster Abbey.¹⁵

Lucy Cornwallis was the ancestress of the prominent Victorian-Edwardian family of Burdett-Coutts. In 1911, Francis Burdett Money Coutts petitioned for restoration of the title of the Barony of Latimer, which was granted in 1913. He became the fifth baron and was grandfather of the present (seventh) baron.¹⁶

¹³ *Complete Peerage*, VII, 452, 484-85. A photograph of Lady Latimer's tomb is contained in Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *London V, East* (1930), Pl. 95.

¹⁴ *The Victoria History of the County of York, North Riding*, I, ed. William Page (London, 1914), 353-54, with photographs.

¹⁵ *Complete Peerage*, VII, following p. 452.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 485. *Burke's Peerage*, pp. 1448-49. The title had previously been claimed by the fourth baron's cousin and his son, who both called themselves Lord Latimer. In 1673 Sir Thomas Osborne, a great-grandson of Elizabeth Neville, Lady Danvers, was created Viscount Latimer of Danby. He later became the first Duke of Leeds.

YORKSHIRE BOROUGH ELECTIONS. 1603-1640

BY JOHN K. GRUENFELDER

Summary The men elected to the House of Commons for the boroughs of Yorkshire in the parliamentary elections from 1603 to 1640 were the nominees of various interests. The influences exercised by great men and local gentry are analysed and documented. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Prince of Wales's Council, the Council of the North, the powerful Earl of Strafford and other peers all strove to have their clients elected. In spite of these pressures York usually chose its own citizens, and the other boroughs were generally influenced in their final choice by the local gentry.

The electoral history of Yorkshire's eleven boroughs, twelve after Pontefract's restoration in 1621, is the history of English borough elections between 1603 and 1640. York, for example, was an electoral rarity: it returned its residents from 1604 through 1628, only falling from grace in the contest of spring 1640. Hull, on the other hand, surrendered to the patronage of its prestigious High Steward, no less a person than George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed, even the great favourite of James I and Charles I, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, intervened in Hull's elections. Scarborough was another target of ambitious patrons including Buckingham and, in a rare development, surrendered a place to the nominee of a Scottish peer. Its electoral history is a mixed tale: townsmen, neighbouring gentry and the nominees of the great served for Scarborough at Westminster. Ripon's elections illustrated the power of the Archbishops of York who, it seems, remained dominant personalities in its story.

The majority of Yorkshire's boroughs, however, were the electoral preserves of neighbouring gentry. Aldborough, Hedon and Knaresborough were under gentry control; Boroughbridge, Thirsk, Beverley and Richmond came close to enjoying a similar status. Pontefract, following its restoration, became the patronage borough of the great Sir Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, later Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland and Lord President of the Council of the North.¹ Wentworth may have been, in a county filled with place hunting gentry, Yorkshire's most industrious and successful patron. But if it already appears that the gentry enjoyed a preponderance of influence in Yorkshire's borough elections, it must be remembered that other patrons often battled for borough places.

York was the Council of the North's headquarters, a royal agency, which intervened, albeit sporadically, in borough elections. Three peers were its Lord Presidents between 1603 and 1640 and two of them, Edmund Lord Sheffield, later Earl of Mulgrave, who was Lord President from 1603-1619 and Wentworth, who as the Earl of Strafford directed its electioneering in 1640, were active and successful patrons. The third, Emanuel Lord Scrope, later Earl of Sunderland, who succeeded Sheffield, made almost no electoral mark at all.² They were eminent Yorkshiremen and to credit their office as Lord President as the decisive factor in their electoral success is a dangerous and foolish course. If Sheffield, Scrope or Wentworth did place a nominee, was it because of their personal prestige and connections or their influence as the leader of the King's Council in the North? Furthermore, Yorkshire's boroughs often elected men who were members of the council; however, these men were leading county gentry. Their return cannot be readily credited to the Council's prestige; their appointment to the Council was often an acknowledgement of their prestige and influence within the political, social and economic leadership of Yorkshire society.

¹ "Sir Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford," Stephen, L., and Lees, S., eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, reprinted in 22 vols., (New York, 1908-1909), XX, 1179-1194 (subsequently referred to as *D.N.B.*).

² Cokayne, G. E., *Complete Peerage of England* . . . , 8 vols., (1887-1898), V, 417-418; VII, 88, 262-263, (subsequently referred to as Cokayne, *Peerage*).

More remarkable, perhaps, was the surprising and rather sweeping attempt made by the Prince's Council in 1624 to place nominees at five Yorkshire boroughs.³ The Duchy of Lancaster, which had left its mark in Elizabeth's reign, made a last and fading appearance in elections at Knaresborough and Aldborough while two other peers, the Earls of Derby and Northumberland, also tried their hand at Thirsk and Hull. Yet, in spite of all that apparently potent competition, the history of Yorkshire's borough elections remains a history of the influence, power and ambition of Yorkshire's gentry.

I

Sheffield's influence as Lord President was a major feature of the elections of 1604. Surviving evidence testifies to his intervention in the county election and at Scarborough and, given that interference, it is probable that he was also involved in elections at Aldborough, Beverley, Richmond and Ripon.⁴ At Scarborough, its near neighbour, Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby wanted a burgess-ship and, to reinforce his claims, sought Sheffield's approval and support. Hoby was also backed by the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, but his concern to obtain Sheffield's favour was a clear acknowledgement of his authority. Another peer on the Council, Lord Eure, also successfully placed his son at Scarborough.⁵ Aldborough chose Sheffield's son, Sir Edmund, while Boroughbridge elected a secretary to the Council, John Ferne. Richmond chose a former client of Lord Burghley, Richard Percival, and Ripon, as usual, returned a candidate of the Archbishop of York and another apparent nominee of Lord Eure, his son-in-law, John Mallory.⁶ Ferne's fellow secretary, William Gee, found a seat for Beverley. Gee must have been impossible to deny: he was Beverley's recorder as well, a compelling union of electoral advantages! Beverley's corporation found itself in something of a spot since Sir Henry Hobart, later James I's attorney general, was also involved in its election; he nominated his son, John. The corporation handled the nomination with great tact, promising that they would do all they could to further Hobart's cause but noting that since 'the election consists in the voices & votes of many we dare not assure your Lordship of more than what rests in our particular power, the uttermost whereof shall be employed in this your honor's service.' And while the Mayor and corporation may have tried, the Council's candidate, Gee, and Alan Percy, the son of Edward Percy of Beverley and a kinsman of the powerful Earl of Northumberland, apparently received 'the voices & votes of many,' certainly of enough to win the election.⁷ Altogether, the Council, ably led by its energetic and place-seeking Lord President, Sheffield, probably captured as many as seven of Yorkshire's 22 burgess-ships in 1604. It was, given the Earl of Huntingdon's record as Lord

³ Prince's Council to John Cartwright, feodary of the honour of Pontefract, 1 Jan. 1624, Duchy of Cornwall Record Office, "Burgesses for Parliament, 1623-1624," fol. 34.

⁴ I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Earl Fitzwilliam and the Earl's Wentworth Estates Company for allowing me to use and quote from the Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, deposited at the Sheffield City Library, whose staff was most helpful in making the documents available for my use. Edmund Baron Sheffield to William Wentworth, 19 Feb. 1604, Sheffield City Library, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, 20 (189); Somerscales, Bouth and Morehouse to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 12 March 1604, Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 708, fol. 151.

⁵ I would also like to extend my thanks to the staff of the Town Clerk's office at Scarborough for their many courtesies during my visit there to use the borough archives. Earl of Nottingham to the bailiffs and burgesses of Scarborough, 17 Aug. 1603, Hoby to the same, 26 Feb. 1604, Scarborough Borough MSS, General Letters, 1597-1642; B. 1; Baker, J. B., *A History of Scarborough*, (1882), 245 (subsequently referred to as Baker, *Scarborough*); Bean, W., *The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England . . .*, (Hull, 1890), 1044, 1058 (subsequently referred to as Bean, *Northern Counties*).

⁶ Bean, *Northern Counties*, 716, 736, 769, 783, 789, 1010, 1019, 1023, 1032, 1038; Harrison, W., ed., *Ripon Millenary Record*, 2 pts. in 1 vol., (Ripon, 1892), pt. ii, xii (subsequently referred to as Harrison, *Ripon*); Lawson-Tancred, T., *Records of a Yorkshire Manor*, (1937), 374-376 (subsequently referred to as Lawson-Tancred, *Records*).

⁷ Bean, *Northern Counties*, 740, 759, 764; Oliver, G., *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley*, (Beverley 1829), 382 (subsequently referred to as Oliver, *Beverley*); East Riding RO, Beverley Borough Minute Book, 1597-1642, DDBC/1/2, page 34 in the extracts, fol. 15 in the minute book: "Sir Henry Hobart," DNB, IX, 924-925.

President during Elizabeth's reign, a most successful result.⁸

Hull and York opened the new reign on a proud note of independence. Hull chose aldermen John Edmondes and Anthony Cole while York, which had given in to the Archbishop of York in 1601, re-established its electoral freedom by refusing his candidate in 1604. It chose Robert Askwith, a former MP, sheriff and future Mayor and Christopher Brooke the poet, whose father was a rich York merchant and former Mayor.⁹ Hedon, Thirsk and Knaresborough returned influential gentry. The Hildyard and Constable families continued to control Hedon's elections while, at Knaresborough, the brothers Slingsby exercised their family's customary influence. Thirsk, too, elected county gentlemen, Sir Edward Swift and Sir Timothy Whittingham.¹⁰ Sir Henry Savile of Methley joined Sheffield's son at Aldborough, Sir Henry Jenkins of Hutton, later sheriff of Yorkshire, was elected for Boroughbridge and Talbot Bowes of Durham and Aske, Yorkshire, 3 miles from Richmond, was returned for the third time at Richmond.¹¹

Three by-elections occurred at Hull, Boroughbridge and Hedon before the dissolution of James's first parliament, and Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, was involved in all of them, part of that zealous hunt he made for seats during the Parliament of 1604-10. Hull was the sole borough to deny the Earl, preferring to choose a merchant and civic official, Joseph Feilde (or Field), following alderman Cole's death. And Hull's action is all the more noteworthy when it is recalled that Salisbury was Hull's High Steward, a post he had held since 1595. Neither Boroughbridge nor Hedon, though, had Hull's courage. Boroughbridge elected Sir Thomas Vavasour at Salisbury's request because '(even in our simplest judgment)' to deny the Earl would be 'worse than death itself.' That was hardly a cry of electoral independence! Hedon played a more shrewd and, as it proved, rewarding game with Salisbury. Sir Henry Constable's death opened up a burgess-ship at Hedon which Salisbury promptly tried to fill. Hedon's corporation replied that it was delighted to receive the Earl's attention, noted that it had other contenders for the vacancy and, after stressing that it expected its burgesses to serve the corporation in parliament, pointed out that Salisbury's nominee 'may . . . be such a one as shall in every respect defray his own charges and no ways be bothersome to us.' Salisbury must have agreed; his candidate, Sir John Digby, was elected in Constable's place.¹²

II

Sheffield and the Council managed to do even better in the elections for the Addled Parliament of 1614. Scarborough's corporation reserved a burgess-ship for Sheffield's candidate, sending him a blank return so that he could insert the name of his nominee. A lawyer, Mr. Edward Smith, was Sheffield's eventual choice. Sir John Suckling, a courtier and royal official, also tried for a seat at Scarborough but to no avail; the port preferred to

⁸ Clare Cross, *The Puritan Earl*, (1966), 174-175; Brooks, F. W., *The Council of the North*, Historical Association publication, (1953), 26.

⁹ Sheahan, J. J., *History and Description of the Town and Port of Kingston-upon-Hull*, 1st ed., (1864), 245 (subsequently referred to as Sheahan, *Hull*); Bean, *Northern Counties*, 844, 868, 869, 1108, 1122, 1123; Neale, J., *The Elizabethan House of Commons*, (1949), 164 (subsequently referred to as Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*); "Christopher Brooke," *DNB*, II, 1327; York City Library, *City of York Housebooks*, 32, 1598-1605, pp. 314v-315; The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 1961, 186 (subsequently referred to as *VCH York*). Dr. John Bennett, the Archbishop's winning nominee in 1601 was nothing, if not determined in 1604. He tried for each of York's places, losing to Askwith by a vote of 61 to 14 and then losing to Brooke, for the second place, by a vote of 60 to 29.

¹⁰ Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*, 151, 190-191, 192, 229; "Sir Henry Slingsby," *DNB*, XVIII, 375; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 812, 828, 829-830, 884, 907, 1081, 1093-1094, 1095.

¹¹ Lawson-Tancred, *Records*, 374-376; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 769, 783, 1001, 1010.

¹² Willson, D. H., *The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629*, (Minneapolis, 1940), 105 & n (subsequently referred to as Willson, *Privy Councillors*); Lawson-Tancred, *Records*, 374-376; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 769, 789, 812, 829-830; Bailiffs of Boroughbridge to Salisbury, 5 Nov. 1609, P.R.O., St. P. Dom. 14/49:10; Mayor and corporation of Hedon to the same, 13 Nov. 1609, P.R.O., St. P. Dom. 14/49:25; the same to the same, 2 March 1610, P.R.O., St. P. Dom. 14/53:2.

elect the son of a borough bailiff, William Conyers.¹³ Other likely Council successes were at Aldborough, which returned one John Wethered and Richmond, where a master of requests, Sir Richard Williamson, steward for East Retford, was chosen.¹⁴ William Towse's election for Beverley also looks suspiciously like the Council's work. Towse, an outsider, was later Colchester's town clerk and MP (1621–1626). Indeed, he served the Crown so well in the Parliament of 1614 that he was made a serjeant-at-law. Sir Thomas Vavasour, Salisbury's former nominee at Boroughbridge, was returned for Ripon. Thirsk's choice of another courtier, Sir Robert Yaxley, may have been another sign of Council intervention as was Hedon's election of Sheffield's son, William, and a stranger, Clement Coke, son of Sir Edward Coke, the famous jurist.¹⁵ As in 1604, Sheffield and the Council had played an apparently strong electoral role: as many as eight candidates probably enjoyed Sheffield's backing in 1614.

Yorkshire's other burgesses, with one exception, reflected the influences customarily at work in its borough elections. The sole exception was Knaresborough's election of Sir William Beecher, presumably at the urgings of the Duchy of Lancaster. Beecher's candidacy was, no doubt, strongly assisted by Sir Henry Slingsby, a minor Duchy official and fellow MP, whose family enjoyed great influence at Knaresborough.¹⁶ York re-elected Brooke and Askwith while Hull divided its favour between an alderman, Richard Burgess, and an influential squire, Sir John Bouchier.¹⁷ Sir Talbot Bowes served again for Richmond while Sir Henry Savile was one of Aldborough's members. Boroughbridge began its long association with the prestigious Fairfax family by returning Sir Ferdinando Fairfax who served with a George Marshall, possibly of the Marshall family of Pickering. Thirsk also

¹³ Sheffield to the bailiff and burgesses of Scarborough, 14 Feb., 7 March, Sir Henry Griffiths to the same, 6 March, Hickson to Thompson and Lacy, 28 March, all 1614, Scarborough Borough MSS, General Letters, 1597–1642, B. 1.; Cliffe, J., *The Yorkshire Gentry*, (1969), 104 (subsequently referred to as Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*); Reid, R., *The King's Council of the North*, (1921), app. ii, 497 (subsequently referred to as Reid, *Council of the North*); "Sir John Suckling," *DNB*, XIX, 141; Baker, *Scarborough*, 176, 250, 283–284; Gleason, J., *The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558–1640*, (Oxford, 1969), 173, 175, 177 (subsequently referred to as Gleason, *JP's*).

¹⁴ Bean, *Northern Counties*, 716, 1001, 1021. John Wethered may have been a relative of George Wethered, an examiner of causes for the Council of the North. During the heated county election of 1621, Sir Thomas Wentworth sought out George Wethered's aid with Lord Scrope and, two years later, Wentworth nominated a 'Mr. Wetheridd' to the then Lord Treasurer, Sir Lionel Cranfield, for an appointment as collector of the King's revenue. Another Wethered, Francis, was a 'surveyor of his Majesty's Stables' between 1626 and 1639. The Wethered's Yorkshire obscurity, in spite of the election of John, suggests that he was probably a nominee of Sheffield and the Council. Sir Thos. Wentworth to 'George Weatheridde Esqr.', 8 Dec. 1620, Sheffield City Library, Wentworth-Woodhouse MSS, 2(60); Wentworth to the Earl of Middlesex, 5 June 1623, Knowler, W., ed., *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Despatches*, . . . , 2 vols., (1739), I, 16 (subsequently referred to as Knowle, ed., *Strafford's Letters*); Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, domestic series*, . . . James I, 12 vols., (1856–1872), 1603–1610, 511; 1611–1618, 386 (subsequently referred to as *CSPD*); Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, domestic series* . . . Charles I, 23 vols., (1858–1897), 1625–1626, 565; 1628–1629, 378, 381; 1636–1638, 161, 371; 1637–1638, 173; 1638–1639, 460; 1639–1640, 89 (subsequently referred to as *CSPD*); Wethered's kinsman, George, was Lord Scrope's secretary by 1620–1621, Notestein, W., Relf, F., and Simpson, H., eds., *Commons Debates, 1621*, 7 vols., (New Haven, 1935), II, 418, 420; III, 382, 387, 405–604; IV, 404; V, 194, 394; VI, 184 (subsequently referred to as Notestein, Relf and Simpson, eds., *Commons Debates*).

¹⁵ Vavasour was a knight marshal of the royal household and his election at Ripon offers a fine example of the difficulties in evaluating election patronage. Of a Yorkshire family, Vavasour made his career in the south at court. In 1608 he was a Justice of the Peace in Kent and, in the following year, was elected by Boroughbridge thanks to Salisbury's recommendation. In 1614, he was also elected for Horsham and preferred to serve for that Sussex borough where it is likely that he was sponsored by the agents or family of the Earl of Arundel. And while his Yorkshire connections could conceivably account for his Ripon election, it is far more likely – given his court career and Salisbury's support at Boroughbridge – that the Council saw to his election in 1614. Harrison, ed., *Ripon*, pt. ii, xiii–xiv; Willson, *Privy Councillors*, 108; R. Carroll, *Parliamentary Elections for Yorkshire, 1625–1660*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1964, 68–71, 85–86 (subsequently referred to as Carroll, *Parl. Repr. Yorkshire 1625–1660*); Moir, T., *The Addled Parliament of 1614*, (Oxford, 1958), 47, 148 (subsequently referred to as Moir, *Addled Parliament*); Morant, P., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols., (1768), II, 507, 574, 575; Rickwood, G., 'Members of Parliament for Colchester,' *Essex Review*, V, (1896), 195–196; Metcalfe, W., ed., *Visitations of Essex*, 2 pts., Harleian Soc., (1878–1879), I, 505; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 812, 1023, 1081; Gleason, *JP's*, 126, 129, 231–232.

¹⁶ Knaresborough had, in Elizabeth's reign, been under the occasional influence of the Duchy, Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*, 151, 226, 229; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 884.

¹⁷ Bean, *Northern Counties*, 844, 868, 1108.

opened a similar parliamentary relationship with the Bellasis family by choosing Sir Thomas Bellasis. Ripon joined Vavasour with a neighbouring squire, William Mallory, whose father had served Ripon in 1604 and, when Vavasour gave up his place, returned its former member, Sir Thomas Hoby in his stead.¹⁸

Sheffield was gone as Lord President before the next election in 1621. His successor, Emanuel Lord Scrope, apparently presided over the near disappearance of the Council's electoral influence. Scarborough and Boroughbridge may have returned Council nominees in 1621; Richmond did in 1628 and, had Sir Edward Alford preferred Scarborough in 1625, his choice could also be credited to Council intervention. But that was all. The Council's loss of influence is hard to explain but one possible explanation deserves mention. James I, rightly or wrongly, was increasingly regarded as sympathetic to recusants; Scrope's appointment was seen by many in Yorkshire as a further sign of that policy. Whereas Sheffield had watched recusants with a close and careful eye, Scrope was thought of as 'a protector of the Catholic community north of the Trent' and just at the time when the court's allegedly pro-Catholic policies were coming under increasing criticism.¹⁹ The Council's decline as a patron parallels Scrope's tenure in office and while nothing suggests a direct connection, Scrope's patronage—and the Council's—almost disappears from borough elections. What is certain, however, is that from 1621 onwards, Yorkshire's borough elections were increasingly the province of its ambitious gentry.

III

York continued in the elections of the 1620's to avoid any outside electoral influence. Brooke represented the city through the Parliament of 1626 although his former colleague, Sir Robert Askwith, would make his last appearance in the Parliament of 1621. In 1624, Brooke was joined by Sir Arthur Ingram, no stranger to the city. Sir Henry Slingsby had nominated Ingram in 1624; he would serve York again in 1625, 1626 and 1628. One contested election marred York's tranquility; it came in 1628 when Sir Thomas Savile, the son of the influential Sir John Savile, challenged an alderman, Thomas Hoyle, for a seat. Hoyle, a wealthy merchant who would later be governor of York's merchant adventurers and a Mayor, found himself denied election because Savile had suborned the sheriff. Ingram's return was never questioned. The House of Commons discovered the sheriff's wrongdoing, threw out Savile's return and declared Hoyle well elected. York's independence, an increasingly expensive burden on the city's strained exchequer, had been saved.²⁰

For Hull, however, the elections of the 1620's were notable only for the successes its High Steward, George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, achieved. In 1621, he nominated his brother, Sir Maurice Abbot, a 'deputy of the East India Company, and one well known to his Majesty and the LL [Lordships of the Privy Council], and being a merchant by trade is for his understanding and experience able to give helps to any business

¹⁸ Harrison, ed., *Ripon*, pt. ii, xiii–xiv; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 693, 716, 768, 784, 1001, 1081, 1087; 'Sir Henry Savile,' *Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, (1953), 1161.

¹⁹ Havran, M., *The Catholics in Caroline England*, (1962), 64, 94–95; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 174, 200, 201–202, 243, 285–286, 295, 297.

²⁰ The House of Commons must have humbled the proud young Sir Thomas Savile; he and his ally, Alderman Hemsworth, were forced to plead, on their knees before the bar of the House, for its forgiveness. York paid a high price for its electoral liberty as a few examples can show. Brooke reduced his claims upon the city after James's first Parliament but was still paid £132 while Askwith, in 1621, was given an additional £20 over his 10 shillings a day for parliamentary service. Ingram, however, must have cheered the corporation mightily; he served without charge. Hoyle, though, wanted his compensation and was still seeking it in 1630. He was only paid after a special tax was levied by York's corporation. Upton, A. F., *Sir Arthur Ingram*, (Oxford, 1961), 148–149, 155, 247–248, 250–251; *Commons Journal*, I, 879, 887, 888, 890, 891; *VCH York*, 128–129, 168–169, 186, 196; "Christopher Brooke," *DNB*, II, 1327; "Sir Arthur Ingram," *DNB*, X, 449–450; M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640–1641*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 36, (Philadelphia, 1954), 224–225, 229 (subsequently referred to as Keeler, *Long Parliament*); "Thomas Savile, 1st viscount Savile," *DNB*, XVII, 863–866; Carroll, *Parl. Repr. Yorkshire, 1625–1660*, 56, 57–58, 80–81; York City Library, *City of York Housebooks*, 34, 32, 208v, 209–209v, 278, 280v, 282v, 283, 313, 313v–314; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 1108–1109.

which may belong unto your town.' With such credits and expertise which might do the port some good, the corporation apparently had confidence in Abbot: Hull elected him from 1621–1626. Another outsider, Sir John Suckling, was returned in 1624, perhaps at the recommendation of his father-in-law, Sir Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex. Suckling, however, preferred to sit for Middlesex and, in a surprising recommendation, urged Hull to 'make choice of one of their own burgesses and inhabitants' to take his place. The Earl of Middlesex and his friend, Sir Arthur Ingram, had other ideas: they urged Hull to choose a Yorkshire squire, Sir William Constable. Buckingham also became involved; he convinced Suckling of the folly of his electoral ideas for Hull and won Suckling's support for the Duke's nominee, Emmanuel Gifford. Hull denied them all and chose Sir John Lister, an ex-Mayor and alderman, who had served for Hull in 1621. In 1626, Abbot abandoned Hull for London and the port finally found the path to independence. It chose, in Abbot's stead, an alderman and past Mayor, Lancelot Roper. In 1628, it joined Lister with James Watkinson, another former Mayor and sheriff. But Hull's electoral history was hardly that of proud York: it returned its residents in but three elections, 1604, 1626 and 1628.²¹

Patronage, the influence of powerful outsiders, was the principal theme in Scarborough's chequered electoral history from 1621–1628. William Conyers was returned again in 1621 and 1624, giving the port a 'local' member, while the Council of the North was involved in three elections, in 1621, 1624 and 1625. Scrope may have been behind the return of his kinsman, Sir Richard Cholmley, who had important local connections in 1621 but, in 1624, the Council's nominee was refused. Sir Thomas Tildesley, vice chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the King's attorney for the County Palatine of Lancaster, joined forces with a Council member, Sir George Ellis, to nominate a solicitor, Richard Osbaldeston of York and London. Osbaldeston, a cousin of Ellis, counted on his cousin's connections at Scarborough to support his return. Such backing, though, was not enough; Scarborough returned Conyers and Hugh Cholmley, Sir Richard Cholmley's son, who served again for the port in 1625 and 1626. Scrope, however, tried again in 1625, nominating Sir Edward Alford who, he promised, would serve 'without any charge to you.' Scarborough was willing but Alford was not. He had already been elected at Beverley and rejected Scarborough's offer of a place. He did, however, promise the corporation that he would inform Scrope of their warm response to his candidacy. Alford, however, was but one of many candidates seeking Scarborough's places in 1625; indeed, the port had too many anxious candidates, too many willing and pressing patrons. Two peers, Lord Sheffield and the Scot, John Ramsay, the Earl of Holderness, were involved; so, too, was Sir Edward Coke who wanted a seat for himself while it is possible that Sir Guildford Slingsby, a 'controller of his Majesty's ships', who was nominated by his brother, Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, may have had the support of the Lord Admiral, Buckingham, as well. A neighbouring squire, Richard Darley, also wanted a burgess-ship for his son, Henry. In this mêlée of patrons and nominees, it appeared that Sheffield might triumph; the corporation had promised to delay its election until he could name his nominee. That angered Lord Scrope but his enmity soon abated for Sheffield's candidate, Sir Edward Waterhouse of Halifax, was refused. Coke, Darley and Slingsby were also denied. Scarborough returned the Earl of Holderness's nominee, William Thompson, and its former burgess, Hugh

²¹ Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 74, 252–254; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 844–845, 872, 878, 881; 'Sir John Suckling', *DNB*, XIX, 171; 'Maurice Abbot', *DNB*, I, 21–24; Archbp. of Canterbury George Abbot to the Mayor and aldermen of Hull, 23 Nov. 1620, 13 Dec. 1620, 23 Jan. 1624, 30 Jan. 1624, Hull Corporation MSS, Corporation Letters, L. 166, 167, 203, 204; Hull Corporation MSS., Bench Book 5, fols. 22, 122–123, 142, 183; Stanewell, L., ed., *Calendar of the MSS of Kingston Upon Hull*, (Hull, 1951), 181, 327, 329.

Cholmley.²²

In 1626, Buckingham recommended Sir John Brooke and William Turner and, although he failed then, he may have been behind the port's election in 1628 of John Harrison, a customs farmer. Harrison nominated himself; he had begun his career under the tutelage of Sir John Wolstenholme of Nostell Priory, but it is doubtful that Harrison could have won an election on his own. Buckingham's support, as Lord Admiral, could have tipped the electoral scale in his favour. Henry Darley tried again, without success, in both 1626 and 1628; Thomas Alured, another local man, also failed to win a seat in 1628. In 1626, Cholmley served again with a neighbour and freeman of the port, Steven Hutchinson of Wykeham Abbey. Harrison's partner in 1628 was a nominee of Sheffield (now Earl of Mulgrave), Sir William Constable.²³ Scarborough's choices from 1604–1628 indicated its subservience to all varieties of patronage. The Council of the North was responsible for the return of four burgesses, aristocratic patronage accounted for three and neighbouring gentry took four more. Conyers was the only burgess Scarborough returned who can be called a townsman.

One of Ripon's places remained, or so it appears, safely in the hands of the Archbishops of York. Sir Thomas Hoby was the probable recipient of such clerical election favour. Hoby had served for Scarborough in 1604 but, after his appointment as chief seneschal of Ripon manor, a position in the Archbishop's gift, Ripon became his borough; he served for it in every parliament from 1621–1628. His nearly perennial colleague was Sir William Mallory whose electoral success was probably based upon his family's continuing influence in the town. Mallory served in 1621, 1624, 1625 and 1628; Thomas Best, a kinsman by marriage to Mallory, was elected in 1626. Ripon's elections continued in their Elizabethan mould; the Archbishops maintained their right to one burgess-ship and Hoby was, it seems, their man.²⁴

Boroughbridge was, to some extent, another patronage borough. Its return of George Wethered in 1621 was a possible sign of the influence of the Council of the North while the Duchy of Lancaster probably made its last appearance in Yorkshire borough elections with Boroughbridge's return of a courtier, Sir Philip Mainwaring, in 1624, 1625 and 1626. Mainwaring, who eventually secured a post in Wentworth's Irish administration, was of Over Peover, Cheshire; his uncle, Sir Edward Fitten, had been an Elizabethan courtier and a Duchy nominee at both Wigan and Boroughbridge. The Fairfaxes of Denton, however, were the dominant influence at Boroughbridge; Sir Ferdinando Fairfax held a burgess-ship

²² Gaskin, R., 'The Cholmleys of Whitby,' *The Bradford Antiquary*, new series, II, (1905), 430–431; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 134–135. Conyers was the son of a bailiff of Scarborough while Sir Richard Cholmley's growing influence explained Scarborough's return of his son Hugh from 1624–1626. Tildesley and Ellis to the bailiffs and burgesses of Scarborough, 16 Jan. 1624, Bailiffs of Scarborough to Conyers, 26 Jan. 1624, Richard Cholmley to the bailiffs and burgesses of Scarborough, 27 Jan. 1624, Lord Scrope to the bailiffs, 14 April 1625, Wm. Alford to the same, 6 May 1625, Ed. Bailey to Peacock, 21 April 1625, Francis Gargrave to Peacock and Thos. Ford, bailiffs of Scarborough, 7 April 1625, 1 May 1625, Sir Edward Coke to the same, 25 April 1625, Richard Darley to the same, 1 May 1625, Sir Richard Cholmley to the bailiffs, 15 April 1625, Wm. Thompson to Mr. Christopher Thompson, 25 April 1625, Scarborough Borough MSS., General Letters, 1597–1642, B. 1.; 'Sir Hugh Cholmley,' *DNB*, IV, 268–269; Cholmley, H., *The Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley*, privately printed, (1870), 25; *VCH Yorkshire, The North Riding*, II, 542, 556; Earl of Holderness to the Bailiffs of Scarborough, 4 April 1625, printed in Baker, *Scarborough*, 224–225. Baker also printed some of the other letters about the 1625 election, 224–227; Carroll, *Parl. Repr. Yorkshire 1625–1660*, 51, 65–66; Cokayne, *Peerage*, IV, 238; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, II, 87, 90, 100, 125, 164, 237, 272.

²³ Buckingham to the bailiffs of Scarborough, 6 Jan. 1626, Wm. Thompson to John Ferrar, bailiff, 8 Jan. 1626. S. Hutchinson to Ferrar and Peacock, bailiffs, 16 Jan. 1626, Luke Fox to Peacock and Thos. Ford, Sir Hugh Cholmley to the bailiffs, 17 Jan. 1628, Harrison to the bailiffs, aldermen and burgesses of Scarborough, 31 Jan. 1628, Sir Wm. Constable to Gregory Fish and Wm. Conyers, bailiffs of Scarborough, 1 Feb. 1628, the Earl of Mulgrave to the bailiffs of Scarborough, 2 Feb. 1628, Lancelot Alured the to same, 9 Feb. 1628, Scarborough Borough MSS., General Letters, 1597–1642, B. 1; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 153–154, 205–206; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 16, 53, 338, 353; *VCH Yorkshire, North Riding*, II, 427, 499, 500; Baker, *Scarborough*, 227.

²⁴ The Mallorys held land from the Archbishops and had, on occasion, served as stewards of Ripon as well. Harrison, ed., *Ripon*, pt. ii, xiii–xiv; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 75, 265–266; Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*, 228–230; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 88, 274, 285, 291; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 1037–1038; Gleason, *JP's*, 37–41, 75, 101, 111, 230, 233–235, 237.

from 1614 through the spring of 1640; another Yorkshireman, Francis Neville, joined Fairfax in the Parliament of 1628.²⁵ Fairfax did not go unchallenged; in 1624, the Prince's Council intervened at Boroughbridge. It was part of a greater and more sweeping attempt to place candidates at five Yorkshire boroughs.²⁶

The Prince nominated Sir Edmund Verney of his Privy Chamber at Boroughbridge, one William Peasley at Aldborough, Sir Henry Vane at Beverley, Sir Arthur Mainwaring at Knaresborough and Sir Henry Holcroft at the recently restored borough of Pontefract. Prince Charles had some claim to the borough's loyalty; he held the honour, lordship, castle and forest of Knaresborough, the honour of Pontefract, the manor of Beverley, the manor and town of Aldborough and the borough of Boroughbridge. In February, 1624, he ordered the feodary of Pontefract honour, John Cartwright, 'to make known unto the Mayor & Bailiffs or other chief officers of the boroughs' the names of those he wanted the towns to return. Pontefract and Beverley agreed; Holcroft and Vane were chosen. At the other boroughs, however, Charles's nominees were up against the growing power of Yorkshire's gentry. Boroughbridge preferred Fairfax to Verney, perhaps deciding that one nominee—Philip Mainwaring—was enough. Aldborough refused Peasley, choosing instead two Yorkshiremen, Christopher Wandesford of Kirklington and its legal agent from Nun Monkton, John Carville. Neighbouring loyalties proved too much for Charles's nominee at Knaresborough as well; it turned Sir Arthur Mainwaring down and elected Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven and Sir Richard Hutton of nearby Goldsborough. Pontefract eventually reversed itself for, when Holcroft decided to serve for Stockbridge, Hampshire, the borough rejected Charles's second nominee, Robert Mynne, out of hand. Indeed, its second election turned into a battle between local gentry.²⁷

The ascendancy Yorkshire's gentry enjoyed over its borough elections can best be illustrated by a review of the electoral histories of Aldborough, Knaresborough, Beverley and Pontefract. In 1621, Aldborough's election was a triangular affair involving its former member, Sir Henry Savile, who had been urged by Wentworth to 'try your ancient power with them of Aldborough,' Christopher Wandesford and John Carville. Wandesford and Carville won and repeated their success in 1624. In 1625 and 1626 Carville served with Richard Aldeburgh or Aldborough who owed his place to his father Arthur, who lived at Ellingthorpe Hall and who would buy Aldborough manor from the Crown in 1629. Another prominent Yorkshire squire, Robert Stapleton, was elected in 1628 along with a nominee of Sir William Sheffield, Henry Darley. Darley, too, was a local man, residing at Buttercrambe; Sheffield had failed to place him at Scarborough and, it may be safely assumed, backed Darley at Aldborough. Of Aldborough's 14 burgess-ships from 1604–1628, its neighbouring gentry captured 12; its elections were clearly the property of its

²⁵ Mainwaring's court career was probably most noteworthy when rumour made him the future husband of a daughter of the Earl of Oxford, Bridget, Countess of Berkshire. Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*, 225, 229; CSPD 1619–1623, 492; CSPD 1623–1625, 54; Ormerod, G., *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 2d ed., revised by Helsby, T., 3 vols., (1875–1882), I, 482–483; Lawson-Tancred, *Records*, 374–376; Lawson-Tancred, T., 'Parliamentary History of Aldborough and Boroughbridge,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 27, (1923), 329, 359; Cokayne, *Peerage*, VI, 63; 'Sir Philip Mainwaring,' *DNB*, XII, 792; 'Ferdinando Fairfax,' *DNB*, VI, 996–997; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 171–172; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 769, 785.

²⁶ Prince's Council to John Cartwright, feodary of the honour of Pontefract, 1 Jan. 1624, Duchy of Cornwall RO, 'Burgesses for Parliament, 1623–1624,' fol. 34.

²⁷ Prince's Council to John Cartwright, feodary of the honour of Pontefract, 1 Jan. 1624, Duchy of Cornwall RO, 'Burgesses for Parliament, 1623–1624,' fol. 34; Batho, G., ed., *The Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland, 1564–1632*, Royal Hist. Soc., Camden 3rd Series, 43, (1962), app. iii, 150; Lawson-Tancred, *Records*, 374–376; Lawson-Tancred, T., 'Parliamentary History of Aldborough and Boroughbridge,' *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, 27, (1923), 329, 359; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 154–155, 323; 'Christopher Wandesford,' *DNB*, XX, 742–744; 'Sir Philip Mainwaring,' *DNB*, XII, 792; 'Ferdinando Fairfax, second Baron Fairfax of Cameron,' *DNB*, VI, 996–997; 'Sir Henry Slingsby,' *DNB*, XVIII, 375; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 884, 904.

neighbouring squires.²⁸

The Slingsbys of Scriven, the Huttons of Goldsborough and, from 1626 onwards, the Bensons of Knaresborough, governed Knaresborough's elections and not even the Prince's intervention in 1624 could break their grip. Sir Henry Slingsby served for the town through the Parliament of 1624; his son, also named Henry, was returned in 1625. Sir Richard Hutton, the son of the judge Sir Richard Hutton of Goldsborough, was chosen at Knaresborough from 1621–1626. Trouble came to Knaresborough, however, in the 1628 election when Henry Benson, who had served in 1626, sought re-election. Benson's father owned 'the largest number of burgage houses in the town', a decisive factor in his contest with Hutton and Henry Slingsby. The key to electoral victory in Knaresborough was control over its burgage houses since the 88 burgage holders were its sole voters. In addition, the bailiff or under-bailiff was the returning officer, a post the Bensons apparently controlled. The fact that the Slingsby family were the largest landholders in the area went for naught on election day. The Bensons had more burgage houses; they also had the support of the returning officer who saw to it that Slingsby's supporters were disqualified and that voters backing Hutton and Benson were not. The contest involved no outsiders or nominees of the great or near-great; it was simply a struggle between neighbouring gentry over the town's burgess-ships—a family quarrel might be a good description. And it does not change the fact that, save for the return of Sir William Beecher in 1614, presumably at the request of the Duchy of Lancaster, Knaresborough was the electoral property of three Yorkshire gentry families, the Slingsbys, Huttons and Bensons.²⁹

Beverley's interest in securing a new charter may have dictated its acceptance of the Prince's candidates in 1624. Vane, the Prince's first nominee, was elected but when he decided to serve for Carlisle, Beverley obediently chose Sir Henry Carey, the oldest son of Lord Leppington, later Earl of Monmouth. But with that one exception, Beverley's identified members were all local gentry. Sir Christopher Hildyard, whose family customarily managed Hedon's elections, turned up for Beverley in 1621—it was near his 'paternal estate of Routh'—while Sir John Hotham of Scarborough, a little hamlet close to Beverley and Sir William Alford, who lived at Meaux Abbey, some four miles east of the town, were elected in 1625, 1626 and 1628. From 1625 onward, two Yorkshire gentry families had made Beverley their pocket borough.³⁰

Sir Thomas Wentworth, apparently prodded by his friend, Sir Henry Savile, played a considerable part in the restoration of Pontefract as a parliamentary borough in 1621. Wentworth prepared the initial 'case for Pontefract' although Sir Edwyn Sandys played the key public role in presenting Pontefract's 'case' to the House of Commons. As a reward, Sandys's son, Sir Edwyn, junior, was elected for the borough along with one of Wentworth's friends and allies in Yorkshire's 1621 election, George Shilleto.³¹ In succeeding elections,

²⁸ Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 74, 82, 153–154, 348–349; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 272; W. Sheffield to the bailiffs of Scarborough, 17 Jan. 1628, Scarborough Borough MSS., General Letters, 1597–1642, B.I. It is unlikely that Wentworth had anything to do with Wandesford's returns. Their friendship developed after the 1621 parliament and the death of Wentworth's wife, Margaret, in 1622; Cokayne, *Peerage*, VII, 263; Wedgwood, C., *Strafford*, (1935), 46–47; Wentworth to Sir Henry Savile, 28 Nov. 1620, Sheffield City Library, Wentworth-Woodhouse MSS., 2(54), printed in Knowler, ed., *Strafford's Letters*, I, 8–9; see also Cartwright, J., *Chapters in the History of Yorkshire*, (Wakefield, 1872), 198–199 (subsequently referred to as Cartwright, *Chapters in Yorkshire History*; 'Christopher Wandesford,' *DNB*, XX, 742–744; Lawson-Tancred, *Records*, 10–11, 374–376.

²⁹ Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 75, 107–108, 340; Carroll, *Parl. Repr. Yorkshire 1625–1660*, 94–95; Atkinson, W., 'A Parliamentary Election in Knaresborough in 1628,' *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, 34, (1938–1939), 213–217; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 884, 904, 907.

³⁰ Prince's Council to John Cartwright, feodary of the honour of Pontefract, 1 Jan. 1624, Duchy of Cornwall RO, 'Burgesses for Parliament, 1623–1624,' fol. 34; Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*, 192; Stirling, A., *The Hothams . . .*, 2 vols., (1918), I, 20, 26; Carroll, *Parl. Repr. Yorkshire 1625–1660*, 76–77; Dennett, J., ed., *Beverley Borough Records, 1575–1821*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 84, (1933), xv; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 740, 756, 758, 761–762. One of Beverley's members, however, Edmund Scott, returned in 1614, 1621 and 1624, still escapes identification.

³¹ Fletcher, A., 'Sir Thomas Wentworth and the Restoration of Pontefract as a Parliamentary Borough,' *Northern History*, VI, (1971), 89–97.

Pontefract's representation belonged to Wentworth. He relied upon Pontefract in 1624 when his hopes for a county place vanished and, 'notwithstanding all labour made against me,' the borough's corporation saw to his return. But that was only the beginning of a confused and quarrelsome election. Pontefract had also chosen the Prince's first nominee, Holcroft, who preferred to serve for Stockbridge. The Prince's second choice, Robert Mynne, was ignored in the following election which turned into a bitter battle between Sir Richard Beaumont of Whitley and the town's legal adviser, Sir John Jackson. The corporation, led by the Mayor, favoured Jackson and created burgesses—or so it was claimed—who, in turn, would vote for Jackson. And what made it all the more shocking to Beaumont and his followers was that the newly created burgesses were recusants. On election day, the Mayor and corporation prevented Beaumont's supporters from entering Mote Hall, the site of the election. The sheriff abandoned all responsibility and made a double return, naming Beaumont and Jackson for the place! Beaumont's followers petitioned the House of Commons which discovered that no poll was taken and that no one knew just who was eligible to vote at Pontefract! The election was voided, the House ordered that the franchise would henceforth include all Pontefract's inhabitants and the borough went through it all again. Jackson was elected. The new, wide franchise had no effect on Wentworth's influence. He used Pontefract as his election insurance in 1625 and also won the corporation's promise to return Jackson and Beaumont, now apparently reconciled, should Wentworth win a county place. Wentworth was returned for Yorkshire; Pontefract dutifully elected Beaumont and Jackson. Jackson was returned again, in 1626 and 1628, presumably under the Wentworth banner while Sir Francis Foljambe, Jackson's partner in 1626, was another Wentworth nominee. In 1628, Wentworth wanted Jackson to serve with Foljambe again. Jackson, however, balked and Sir John Ramsden of Longley became his partner in parliament. Pontefract was Wentworth's pocket borough. His nominees captured at least seven of the borough's ten places from 1621–1628.³² Pontefract, like Aldborough, Boroughbridge, Knaresborough and Beverley, was a gentry patronage borough although, unlike the others, it was not the electoral property of several families; it belonged, instead, to one man, Sir Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse.

Richmond, Hedon and Thirsk were also gentry boroughs. With only a few exceptions, Thirsk was a patronage borough for the Bellasis family of Newborough. Sir Thomas served in three parliaments (1614, 1621, 1624); his son, Henry, of Coxwold, succeeded him in two more parliaments (1625, 1626). Sir John Gibson of Welburn (1621), William Cholmley (1626) and William Frankland of Great Thirkleby (1628) were the other county gentry who served for Thirsk. Christopher Wandesford (1628) was also returned; he was Wentworth's closest friend and may have owed his election at Thirsk to Wentworth's influence. The exceptions in Thirsk's consistent surrender to gentry patronage were in the returns of Sir William Sheffield in 1624 and Henry Stanley in 1625. Sheffield was, no doubt, the nominee of his father, Lord Sheffield, while Stanley's choice could have been at the request of the owner of Thirsk manor, William Stanley, Earl of Derby.³³ Hedon, long

³² Prince's Council to Cartwright, 1 Jan., 20 Feb. 1624, Duchy of Cornwall RO, 'Burgesses for Parliament, 1623–1624,' fos. 34, 39; Wentworth to Beaumont, the same to Lord Clifford, 18, 23 Jan. 1624; Sheffield City Library, Wentworth-Woodhouse MSS., 2(123–124), (125–126), the letter to Clifford is printed in Knowler, ed., *Strafford's Letters*, I, 19; see also Cartwright, *Chapters in Yorkshire History*, 214–215; Fox, G., *History of Pontefract*, (Pontefract, 1827), 61; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 963–964, 988, 990, 997; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 126; *Commons Journal*, I, 714, 745, 751, 797–798; de Villiers, E., 'Parliamentary Boroughs Restored by the House of Commons, 1621–41,' *English Historical Review*, 68, (1952), 186–197; Carroll, *Parl. Repr. Yorkshire 1625–1660*, 49, 87, 88; Wentworth to Lord Clifford, 23 Jan. 1624, the same to Sir John Jackson, 6 April 1625, the same to the Mayor of Pontefract, 6 April 1625, Sheffield City Library, Wentworth-Woodhouse MSS., 20 (253); the same to the same, 5 Feb. 1628, Bodleian Library, Firth ms b.2., f. 191a; all are printed in Knowler, ed., *Strafford's Letters*, I, 19, 25–26, 26, 30, 34. See, too, Cartwright, *Chapters in Yorkshire History*, 217, 218.

³³ Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 75; *VCH Yorkshire, North Riding*, II, 61, 63, 103–104; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 1081, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1091, 1093, 1094–1095. Wandesford's place at Thirsk may have been given to Wentworth's friend in return for Wentworth's help in winning a county place for Henry Bellasis.

the electoral property of the Hildyards of Winestead and the Constables of Burton Constable, continued to return members of those families or their friends. Sir Christopher Hildyard served for Hedon from 1624–1628 while the Constables may have backed the election of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Gilling and Walton from 1621–1626. Sir Matthew Boynton, returned in 1621, and his friend, Thomas Alured, chosen in 1628, complete the gentry roster of Hedon's burgesses.³⁴

Richmond's story is also one of gentry domination. The Bowes family was most influential, capturing both of its places in 1621 while Sir Talbot Bowes served again in 1625 and 1626. In 1621, Wentworth tried to secure a seat for Sir Henry Savile and enlisted the help of his fellow county candidate, Sir George Calvert, a principal secretary of state and privy councillor and Lord Scrope but 'Sir Tho.[mas] Wharton's predominant power with our Aldermen seconded with earnest solicitation of other the burgesses and an undertaking to free the town from all check of my Lo:[rd] President and Mr. Secretary Calvert' wrecked Savile's candidacy. Wharton's influence, however, was short-lived; he died in 1622. The Wandesford family filled three of Richmond's places with Christopher being returned in 1625 and 1626. It is possible, of course, that Wentworth helped Wandesford at Richmond; his influence was certainly strong there in 1640. However, Wandesford's cousin, Mathew Hutton, was deeply involved in Richmond's elections. Matthew, the grandson of his namesake, Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York from 1595–1606, had served with Wandesford in 1626. They both wanted to be returned again in 1628 and Matthew relied upon his father, Sir Timothy Hutton of Marske, an alderman of Richmond, to 'solicite the town that we may continue [in] our places.' Sir Talbot Bowes, however, had the final say and Matthew knew it: 'if Sir Talbot will not be persuaded to desist [from standing], I pray you let my cousin [Wandesford] have the place rather than myself.' But Sir Talbot refused to stand aside; he was chosen along with Scrope's secretary, James Howells. Wandesford, though, was lucky; he wound up at Thirsk, perhaps with Wentworth's help, but Matthew Hutton missed parliament altogether.³⁵ There is little need to recount the gentry's triumphs in the elections for Richmond, Hedon and Thirsk; they were, like Boroughbridge, Aldborough, Knaresborough and Beverley, the election homes of Yorkshire's ambitious and striving gentry.

IV

Yorkshire's borough elections in 1640 were held in an atmosphere of crisis. Charles's personal rule had finally collapsed. The Scots, goaded beyond endurance by the Laudian religious forms sponsored by the King, had rebelled; their armies threatened the north of England. South of the Tweed, the situation was little better. Ship money was uncollectible; financial chaos stared the King in the face. Charles's hastily recruited levies often proved themselves more willing to attack offensive communion rails than the Scots. The situation worsened following the angry dissolution of the Short Parliament in May 1640. During the succeeding summer, a London mob attacked Laud's residence, grievances were openly debated in the streets and, in August, twelve peers prepared a petition demanding another parliament. Charles finally gave way; at a meeting of a Great Council of the Peers at York

³⁴ It is probable, too, that Alured owed his return to the Constables who were his family's close relatives, Carroll, *Parl. Repr. Yorkshire 1625–1660*, 85 & n, 96; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 235, 290; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 812, 824, 831. Sir Henry Constable's son and wife were both recusants; so was the wife of Sir Thomas Fairfax, a tie or connection that might provide a possible reason for the Constables to support Fairfax at Hedon, Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 241–242, 243–243, 290.

³⁵ Wentworth to Sir Henry Savile, 28 Nov. 1620, Sheffield City Library, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, 2(54); Pepper to Sir Henry Savile, 8 Jan. 1621, BM Harleian MSS. 7,000, fol. 41, printed in Cartwright, *Chapters in Yorkshire History*, 203–204; Cokayne, *Peerage*, VIII, 125–126; Carroll, *Parl. Repr. Yorkshire, 1625–1660*, 68, 69–70, 70–71; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 1001, 1016, 1016–1017, 1018; 'James Howell,' *DNB*, X, 109–114; Matthew Hutton to Sir Timothy Hutton, 6 Feb. 1628, Raine, J., ed., *The Correspondence of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York . . .*, Surtees Soc., vol. 17, (1843), 316–317.

in late September he summoned the famous Long Parliament that would lead a rebellion that touched every aspect of English life.

The remarkable revival of the influence of the Council of the North was the most significant theme of the Yorkshire borough elections. And that revival was due to the energy, zeal and influence of its Lord President, Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford. Charles urged his courtiers and officials to do anything in their power in the elections and Wentworth, perhaps more than any other royal agent, answered his King's call.³⁶ In the elections of 1640, Wentworth—and the Council's electioneering is synonymous with his name—intervened in six Yorkshire borough elections; his candidates were nominated for seventeen places and won at least ten. In both elections, Pontefract returned Strafford's brother, Sir George Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse. The autumn return at Pontefract was, in fact, a family affair for Strafford's brother was joined with his cousin, also named Sir George Wentworth. All four of Richmond's seats went to the Earl's friends or associates. Sir William Pennyman of Marske, a friend of Strafford's, was elected for both parliaments. His colleague in the spring was Mauger Norton who probably had the Earl's support; Norton was Wandesford's brother-in-law. In the autumn, Strafford's cousin, Sir Thomas Danby, Wandesford's son-in-law, was chosen.³⁷

Even York's independence, so carefully preserved from 1604–1628, vanished under Strafford's pressure. On election day, the corporation was cautioned to recall 'the favours done by my Lord [Strafford] to the city' and elected Sir Edward Osborne of Kiveton, Strafford's vice-president of the Council of the North, along with an alderman and former Mayor friendly to the Earl, Sir Roger Jacques. But when Strafford tried to repeat his triumph in the fall, York rebelled and, in spite of much 'labouring for voices' and 'a troublesome and disorderly election,' it returned two aldermen, Strafford's opponents, Sir William Allanson and Thomas Hoyle. Strafford had nominated Osborne again and linked him with York's recorder, Sir Thomas Widdrington, but they were 'absolutely refused . . . because the Lord Lieutenant [Strafford] commanded them and this done his Lo: [rd] P. [resident] being at York.' The public denial must have truly galled the proud Strafford.³⁸

Strafford also tried at Scarborough in both elections but without result. In the spring, Osborne was Strafford's first nominee and was accepted; however, he preferred York and the Earl's second candidate, George Butler, was rejected. Scarborough was even more difficult in the fall; it refused Strafford's cousin, Sir George Wentworth of Wooley (who served for Pontefract instead) and re-elected John Hotham and his cousin, a former member for the port, Sir Hugh Cholmley. Cholmley and Hotham's father, Sir John, had been leading opponents of Strafford in the county. Strafford, however, was not the only peer denied by Scarborough; it turned down a secretary of the Council of the North, Sir John Melton, who had been recommended by the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland, in the spring.³⁹

³⁶ Vane to Windebank, 27 Sept. 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Dom. 16/468:61, printed in Yorke, P., 2d earl of Hardwicke, ed., *Miscellaneous State Papers*, 2 vols., (1770), II, 190; 'List of such as are recommended to be burgesses,' Sept. 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Dom. 16/468:136 is a sample of the preparations for the autumn elections that the court carried out. For the court's electioneering in the spring election, see Gruenfelder, J., 'The Elections to the Short Parliament, 1640,' in Reinmuth, H., Jr., ed., *Early Stuart Studies*, 180–230, (Minneapolis, 1960).

³⁷ Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 75, 152–153, 302–303, 383–384, 384–385; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 964, 999–1000, 1001, 1018.

³⁸ Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 75, 83–84, 224–225, 393–394; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 1109, 1128, 1131; York City Library, City of York Housebooks, 36, 1637–1650, 34v; Osborne to Vane, 6 April 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Dom 16/450:35; Pinckney to Windebank, 10 Oct. 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Dom. 16/469:77 & enclosure ii; ? to the Earl of Rutland, 29 Sept. 1640, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland . . .*, 4 vols., (1888–1905), I, 523; G. Pigot to Sir G. Clifton, 25 Sept. 1640, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on manuscripts in various collections*, 8 vols., (1901–1914), VII, 426.

³⁹ Bean, *Northern Counties*, 1044, 1059; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 75, 134–135, 223, 272; 'John Hotham,' *DNB*, IX, 1304–1305; 'Sir Hugh Cholmley,' *DNB*, IV, 268–269; Edward Osborne to the bailiffs of Scarborough, 8 Dec. 1639, John Melton to the same, 12 Dec. 1639, John Hotham to the same, 13 Dec. 1639, Edward Osborne to the same, 26 Dec. 1639, 24 Feb. 1640, Robt. ? to the same, 19 March 1640, Earl of Strafford to the same, 25 Sept. 1640, W. Sheffield to the same, 29 Sept. 1640, Scarborough Borough MSS., General Letters, 1597–1642, B. 1.

In the spring, Strafford tried to place Robert Read at Boroughbridge but the power of another opponent, Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, was too great to overcome. Boroughbridge returned Fairfax and Francis Neville, its members in 1628. In the autumn, Strafford may not have even tried. Boroughbridge chose an eventual regicide, Sir Thomas Mauleverer and another staunch reformer, Sir Philip Stapleton of Wighill, a son-in-law of Sir John Hotham.⁴⁰ Aldborough, which showed no sign of Strafford's involvement in its spring election, probably gave him a place in the autumn when it elected Robert Strickland of Thornton Bridge, who 'appears to have been regarded by Wentworth as a man who could be trusted.' The son of its manor lord, Richard Aldborough, was chosen for both parliaments; Brian Palmes of Lindley, a political moderate, served in the spring.⁴¹

Strafford's electioneering, however, was remarkably successful. It served as a testimony to his power and influence since many of his fellow Yorkshiremen, men like Sir John Hotham, Sir Hugh Cholmley or Lord Fairfax, were his bitter opponents. But in spite of the antagonism the King's policies had aroused and the personal enmity Strafford's pride, ambition and policies as Lord President and Lord Lieutenant had kindled, his electoral intervention was the most effective Yorkshire had seen since the tranquil days of Lord Sheffield's administration. It was Charles I's misfortune that he did not have more zealous electioneers like the Earl of Strafford.

Hull, which had returned its aldermen in 1626 and 1628, surrendered a place to the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland, in both 1640 elections. Sir Henry Vane the younger was Northumberland's victorious nominee although it must be admitted that Vane's father, who had greatly assisted Hull in an important local matter, was probably even more responsible for his son's elections. Its other member was the tried and true townsman, Sir John Lister, who had served for Hull since 1621.⁴²

The crisis of 1640 may have been too much for the Archbishop of York's traditional influence at Ripon. In the spring, all was well; the town elected the Archbishop's son, Sir Paul Neile but, in the succeeding election, there was no sign of episcopal influence. William Mallory, a burgess for Ripon since 1614, was returned in the spring and autumn and, no doubt, was behind his son's election for the Long Parliament.⁴³

The other boroughs, Beverley, Knaresborough, Hedon and Thirsk, followed conventional election practice. At Beverley, Sir John Hotham was again chosen for both parliaments; he served with the son of Sir Michael Warton of Beverley, also named Michael, who probably owed his choice to his father's influence and Hotham's approval. Knaresborough elected Henry Benson and Sir Henry Slingsby in both elections although Slingsby and Benson had to overcome Sir Richard Hutton's challenge. Indeed, the contest caused Slingsby some hard campaigning and £16 worth of wine for Knaresborough's thirsty burgrave-holders! John Alured, later a regicide, served in both parliaments for Hedon; he was matched with two reformers, Sir Philip Stapleton in the spring and Sir William Strickland in the autumn. All were influential Yorkshiremen as was John Bellasis, returned twice for Thirsk, thanks to his family's habitual authority in the borough. William Frankland, one of the borough's members in 1628, was re-elected in the spring but replaced in the autumn by a younger son of Sir Arthur Ingram. Sir Thomas, too, owed his return to

⁴⁰ Strafford to the boroughmaster and boroughmen of Boroughbridge, 17 Jan. 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Dom. 16/442:31; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 74, 171–172, 270–271, 348–349; 'Sir Philip Stapleton or Stapilton,' *DNB*, XVIII, 985–987; 'Ferdinando Fairfax, second baron Fairfax of Cameron,' *DNB*, VI, 996–997; 'Sir Thomas Mauleverer,' *DNB*, XIII, 89–90; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 769.

⁴¹ Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 74, 82, 354–355; 'Sir Bryan Palmes,' *DNB*, XV, 170; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 324; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 716, 734.

⁴² Bean, *Northern Counties*, 844, 880; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 74, 252–254, 371; 'Sir Henry Vane the younger,' *DNB*, XX, 116–129; Hull Corporation MSS, Bench Book 5, fols. 519, 519–520, 521, 522, 524, 527; Earl of Northumberland to the Mayor and burgesses of Hull, 10 Dec. 1639, Hull Corporation MSS., Corporation Letters, L. 290; Wm. Popple, late Mayor of Hull, to Secretary Vane, 21 March 1640, P.R.O., St. P. Dom. 16/448:53.

⁴³ Harrison, *Ripon*, pt. ii, xiv; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 75, 264–265, 265–266.

the Bellasis influence; he was John Bellasis's brother-in-law.⁴⁴

V

The history of Yorkshire borough elections from 1603–1640 is, in nearly every respect, the history of England's borough elections. All that is lacking is the predominant peer whose influence is a constant part of the story. That is not to say, of course, that Yorkshire's boroughs were not challenged, and often successfully, by the nominees of the great in church and state. The Council of the North, under Sheffield and Strafford, played a surprisingly important role in three elections. And that underlines a significant point: it is the local influence and prestige of a Lord President that made the difference in the patronage exercised by an agency like the Council of the North. Perhaps that is the reason why the Duchy of Lancaster played such an insignificant role in Yorkshire borough elections. Aristocratic electioneering was part of the story as well. The Lord Admirals, Nottingham, Buckingham and Northumberland, turned up as prospective patrons; so did a Scottish peer, the Earl of Holderness. Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, left his mark on Hull's elections; his counterparts at York usually had a Ripon seat at their disposal. Yorkshire's boroughs, however, were not the 'pocket boroughs' of the great; instead, they provided places for its striving and ambitious gentry.

The elections at Aldborough, Knaresborough, Beverley, Richmond, Hedon, Thirsk and Pontefract tell the same tale over and over again. It is about the power of the Bowes and Bellasis families, of the Slingsbys, Hothams, Hildyards or Cholmleys and many more that readily come to mind. Often related, often friends, sometimes even enemies, these families were united in a significant way: their power over Yorkshire's borough elections. And why not? After all, their wealth and social connections, their education, made them a dominant group within their county. They served it as Justices of the Peace or Deputy Lieutenants; they were often appointed to the Council of the North. Their political horizons covered both Yorkshire and Westminster: their wealth, standing and connections brought them their parliamentary places. If there was, in early seventeenth-century England, a political 'class' or 'group', the gentry were no exception; elections were their avenue to 'high politics' and Yorkshire's boroughs provided the way. It was a national story.

The 1640 elections signal, too, some of the tensions and divisions that so affected England. York's fall from electoral 'grace' in the spring marks the changes illustrated in 1640. And there were others. Ripon broke with the Archbishop of York for the first time in the autumn; Scarborough, too, ignored its usual patrons and turned to neighbouring gentry, to men known at the port. And while Strafford's influence was noteworthy, the election of his opponents, Cholmley, Hotham, Bellasis and Fairfax, to note only the most prominent, was further evidence of that growing division that was so much a part of England's elections in 1640. The themes that are a part of early seventeenth-century English elections—the power of the Crown, the aristocracy, the gentry, even the expensive determination of York to maintain its electoral independence—are found in the election history of Yorkshire's twelve boroughs. And, like so many throughout England, those of Yorkshire were, in the main, the electoral domain of its aggressive and able gentry.

⁴⁴ At Beverley, Hotham and Warton had to win over Sir Thomas Metham of Metham and North Cave; no doubt Metham's recusancy hurt his chances, especially in an autumn 1640 election. East Riding RO, Beverley Borough Minute Book, 1597–1642, DDBC/1/2, page 164 in the extract, fol. 66 in the minute book; 'Sir John Hotham,' *DNB*, IX, 1302–1304; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 290; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 74–75, 85–86, 103–104, 107–108, 222–223, 229–230, 340, 355, 379–380; 'Sir William Strickland,' *DNB*, XIX, 55–56; 'Sir Henry Slingsby,' *DNB*, XVIII, 375–377; Bean, *Northern Counties*, 1081, 1087–1088; Parsons, D., ed., *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, Bart.*, (1836), 50–51.

THE LATTER DAYS OF THE YORK ASSAY OFFICE

BY M. A. V. GILL

Summary An assay office for gold and silver plate was established at York in 1700, but by 1717 plate was sent to Newcastle to be assayed. The York office was revived in c. 1780 and closed by 1857. The report of an official inspection in 1851 and the surviving ledger for 1805–21 provide details of the number, weight and nature of the items assayed and of the irregularity of the system employed. Sixteen local craftsmen or firms are identified, but Robert Cattle and James Barber, whether separately or in partnership, were the principal gold and silversmiths of York at this time.

I

Country craftsmen were regarded with suspicion and disdain by wardens of the London company of goldsmiths. Those holding office when the *New (Britannia) Silver Standard Act 1696* (8 & 9 William III c.8) was made law must have felt a certain smugness on realizing that its ill-conceived wording would result in the closure of the old provincial assay offices; their rejoicing was premature, as the outcry from the provinces produced supplementary legislation, the *Britannia Standard (Provincial Assay Offices) Act 1700* (12 & 13 Will. III c.4). This provided for 'appointing Wardens and Assay Masters for assaying wrought Plate in the Cities of York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester and Norwich', and in 1702 the same privilege was accorded to Newcastle upon Tyne (1 Anne Stat. 1 c.9). However, when silversmiths of two more cities petitioned for like facilities in 1773, the London company drew up a case against the establishment of assay offices in Sheffield and Birmingham, seizing this opportunity for adverse comment on the existing provincial offices. The parliamentary committee consequently appointed to 'enquire into the Manner of conducting the several Assay Offices', investigated only those of Exeter, Chester and Newcastle, for (as the London case noted) those 'at York, Bristol and Norwich, if ever established, have been long discontinued'.

A new assay office had indeed been established at York, but had soon waned, as few of the city goldsmiths seem to have been practitioners of their craft. It may be that around 1716 no successor could be found capable or willing to undertake the duties of assayer, so that John Langwith, active as a silversmith from the first year of the new office, and Joseph Buckle, recently admitted to his freedom and setting up shop as a goldsmith and jeweller, had to look farther afield. Each made an individual agreement with the nearest hall and arranged to send his plate northwards, a hazardous journey of some 80 miles.

In the minutes of the goldsmiths' company of Newcastle for 31 July 1717 appears the entry: 'Recd by Mr Shaw Steward of John Langwith of York Goldsmith for Essay for one year ending 1st Augt 1717 20s. Joseph Buckle Goldsmith att York for the like, pd to Mr Shaw Stewd recd 20s'. For five years there are regular references in the accounts to these annual payments of one pound for the assay service; then, on 3 May 1722, comes the final entry: 'John Langwith of York To be called upon for 20s for a years Essay due Lamas last. Joseph Buckles of the same to be called upon for 20s for a year then due'.

These outstanding debts that remained for ever unpaid hint at trouble. Other entries suggest unrest amongst members of the Newcastle company, with a growing hostility towards outsiders that came to a climax in 1725, when Francis Batty II sought advice on whether the assayer was legally bound to assay plate for a Durham silversmith, the company being against it. Quarrels there certainly were in 1721: Jonathan French was fined for 'unbrotherly words giving a Bror the lye' and was later reprimanded for 'underhand

dealings with John Hewett a Foriegnr who trades in selling plate in Gateshead & att Durham . . . to the great prejudice of this Company', and a new assay master had to be appointed, Mark Grey Nicholson 'not being willing to continue'. No reason is given for this. It may have been dictated by his private circumstances, or perhaps there is a connection between Nicholson's retirement and the unpaid dues of the York goldsmiths. In favouring 'foriegners' with his services, the assay master may have found himself at odds with the mood of the company and expressed his disgust in resignation and by absenting himself from all further meetings.

For whatever cause, neither York account was settled and both men severed their connections with Newcastle. Joseph Buckle may have regretted his precipitate action, for ten years later he apprenticed his son to Isaac Cookson of Newcastle. Thus Stephen Buckle became a freeman of York by patrimony and a freeman of Newcastle by service, registering his maker's mark with the wardens of the Newcastle company in compliance with the *Plate Offence Act 1738* (12 Geo. II c.26). Afterwards he made scarce use of the office. A single entry in the minute book on 3 May 1743 records payment by a 'Mr Buckle for Assay office 111511', while the first surviving ledger, covering the period 1747 to 1755 notes the assay of a mere 37 ounces in 1748 for 'Mr. Buckels, York'. The Buckles, father and son, probably became retailers of London-made plate, the manufacturing side of their business being limited to jewellery and the occasional small article of silver, such as a ladle or a sauceboat.

The advertisement by a contemporary of Stephen Buckle in 1765 describes a business typical of the more important mid-eighteenth-century goldsmiths: 'Ambrose Beckwith, Jeweller and Goldsmith, . . . is just returned from London with the greatest Variety of Jewels of all Kinds . . . and the greatest Choice of Plate in the most elegant Taste, viz. Tea-Kitchens, Tea Kettles and Lamps, Tea-Canisters, Vases, Bread-Baskets, Candlesticks, Ink-stands, Waiters, Coffee-pots, Cups and Covers, Sauce-boats, Crewet-Frames and Casters, Knives and Forks with Cases, Tankards, Pints &c. Gold and Silver Watches, plain, chased, or enamell'd, by the best Makers . . . His constant Demand enables him to give utmost Value, in ready Money, for any Quantity of Plate, Watches, Jewels &c. Mourning Rings and all Sorts of Jeweller's Work made, also Coats of Arms, engraved on Stone, Steel, or Silver . . .'.¹ Two years later a similar advertisement includes 'all Sorts of Sheffield Goods'.² After Beckwith's death, his widow disposed of the stock in trade of her late husband to Messrs. Hampston and Prince,³ and with this partnership begins a new phase in the history of York plate.

In 1773 the York assay office had 'been long discontinued', but by the end of the decade it was active once more, re-opened no doubt at the instigation of Hampston and Prince to cater for expansion in the manufacturing side of their trade. And for the next eighty years the work of the office was predominantly for this one company, a firm that continued under various styles through a series of changing partnerships: Hampston, Prince and Cattles; Prince and Cattles; Cattles and Barber; Barber and Whitwell; Barber, Cattle and North; Barber and North; Barber.

The only contemporary descriptions of the revived office are contained in reports and examination of evidence after an official inspection in 1851 by William Garnett, inspector-general of stamps and taxes, and Messrs. Garrard and Johnson, prime warden and warden respectively of the London goldsmiths' company.⁴ The details are probably accurate, though the prejudice of the latter two men against country halls may have influenced the investigation and coloured their observations. Unfortunately, unlike Newcastle, whose

¹ *York Courant*, 13 August 1765.

² *York Courant*, 18 August 1767.

³ *York Courant*, 20 November 1770.

⁴ *Report of the Inspector-General of Stamps and Taxes . . . 1851, as relates to the Assaying and Marking of Gold and Silver Plate at Exeter, Newcastle, Chester and York* (1855), and *Report from the Select Committee on Silver and Gold-ware . . .* (1856).

warden appeared before the select committee to explain and refute certain of the allegations, York made no representation. Posterity is left therefore with unanswered accusations and an unsavoury picture of the last years of the assay office.

'There was in fact no regular assay office', as Garnett testified, 'the assay master kept an inn, and he had an apparatus for making assays at that house . . . it was deposited in a lumber closet, covered with dirt and rust . . . there was a small room on the first floor where the assay master had a marking apparatus; he had the punches there, and a table on which he did the marking part of the process'. According to the 1851 report, the assay master, John Burrell, was 'a worn-out spoon-maker in the employ of Mr. Barber, the warden, and evidently is, and always was, quite unfit for the employment of an assayer, being ignorant of the business to which he was appointed 13 years since'. He admitted to having made no assay of gold or silver for some months because he had 'changed his residence and his new office was not fitted up'. This statement was partly true, as it must have been about this time that he removed from Petergate to Jubbergate and changed occupation from silversmith to victualler of the Tiger Hotel.⁵ He claimed that scrapings of the plate had been sent regularly to London for assay and that, relying on the reports of Messrs. Johnson and Co. of Hatton Garden, he had marked the plate. However, no report of more recent date than 1846 could be produced! And when hard-questioned, he confessed that it was his custom rather to 'rely on the correctness of the two wardens (James Barber and John Bell), who were the only manufacturers, and who had the silver from London, from Messrs. Collins & Furber, which silver came with an assay, showing it to be standard; it was then manufactured so long as it lasted, and no assay made, and he marked it on the word of the manufacturer that it was correct'.

Garnett concluded his York report with the comment that 'every facility has existed for the commission of frauds and irregularities. The assay master is, of course, wholly under the control of the two manufacturers . . . it is clear that he has disregarded the obligations of his oath of office, and that the manufacturers have rendered themselves liable to forfeitures under the Act'. While underlining the irregularities and opportunities for abuse, the inspector-general could not, however, produce evidence that any substandard plate had emanated from York. Soon after the enquiry by the select committee the assay office finally closed, probably not as a direct result of the recommendations by the wardens of the London goldsmiths' company for 'the entire abolition of the country halls', but because of the death of York's principal silver manufacturer, James Barber.⁶

II

One ledger has survived, documenting the activity of the revived assay office. It was formerly in the possession of Canon J. Raine and is now in York Minster Library.⁷ It covers the period 4 January 1805 to 19 June 1821. The binding of this account book is without title, but each page has the printed caption 'Duty paid on Manufactured GOLD and SILVER at the ASSAY-OFFICE, YORK, by Virtue of an Act of Parliament made in the 24th Year of his Majesty George the Third'; the rest is divided into six columns headed 'Time when sent', 'From what Makers', 'Articles', 'Weight', 'Whole duty paid' and 'Duty received, deducting one-sixth part as allowed by the Act'.

In 1851 Mr. Garnett found the current practice to be that 'credit is taken by the manufacturers for the duty till the end of the quarter, when the assay master, who keeps an entry

⁵ *Trade Directories* 1846 and 1851.

⁶ *York Gazette*, 11 April 1857.

⁷ *MS. Add. 134*; see Cripps, W. J., *Old English Plate* (1878), 120. I am grateful for the assistance given me in this research by the Sub-librarian and Archivist of York Minster Library, who drew my attention to the assay office ledger among their records; and to the staff of the York City Library, who made available the facilities of the reference section, including the invaluable index of local newspapers.

of the particulars contained in tickets delivered with the work, makes out an account therefrom and sends it with the tickets to the clerk, who then collects the duty and accounts for the same to the Stamp-office . . . ' Accordingly in the greater part of the ledger the final column of 'duty received, deducting one-sixth part' was totalled at the end of each quarter, and when the account had been 'paid into the Stamp office' it was dated and signed by John James Baker. He appears to have served as clerk for the goldsmiths, although listed in trade directories from 1805 to 1838 as 'chemist and druggist, High Ousegate'.

Analysis of the duty ledger⁸

Mr. G. ADDINELL (Addenhall)

Assays: gold 27 March 1817 – 4 April 1820 *ring*.

George Addinell, goldsmith of Gowthorpe, Selby (TD 1822).

Mr. Wm. ASTLEY

Assays: gold > 4 January 1805 – 22 May 1821 > *ring: plain r., motto r.*

silver > 15 January 1805 – 22 August 1820 > *box; buckle; button; caster top, cruet t.; dog couple; extinguisher; fork; horn tip, h. top, suckling h.; kathetic; knife, kn. rest; ladle: butter l., punch l., salt l., tureen l.; medal; mustard pot, m.-pot top; probe; seal; skewer; spectacle case; spoon: gravy sp., mustard sp., salt sp., sugar sp., table sp., tea sp.; stick head; sword scabbard mounting; tongs: sugar t., tea t.; tongue scraper; vinaigrette; whip mounting.*

William Astley freeman of York 1784 (goldsmith).

Gold- and silversmith, watchmaker and working jeweller, Coney street (TD 1805), South Spurrier-gate (TD 1809/11), Low Jubbergate (TD 1823–1830).

York Herald 8 April 1797 'William Astley (successor to the late Mr. Richard Clark) working Jeweller, and Gold and Silver Smith, Spurriergate, York, Respectfully begs leave to solicit the Patronage of the Friends of the late Mr. Clark (to whom he was apprentice and journeyman upwards of nineteen years), and of the Ladies and Gentlemen in York and its neighbourhood . . . Mourning rings executed on the shortest notice'.

York Courant 14 December 1812 Advertisement for sale by auction of 'the Messuage or Dwelling house, the Out-offices, now occupied by Mr. William Astley, most eligibly situated for Trade, in Spurriergate, York, commodiously fitted up for occupation by a Family, and containing Work-shops for carrying on the Business of a Silversmith . . . ' and 'the Valuable Stock of Silver, Plated and Jewellers Goods, in Mr. Astley's Shop . . . '.

York Courant 1 November 1813 Advertisement that 'W. Astley, goldsmith, jeweller &c. Spurriergate, York, . . . carries on the above Business, next Door but one to where he formerly lived . . . '.

Messrs. BARBER & WHITWELL

Assays: gold 26 September 1814 – 8 June 1821 > *sleeve button; ring: motto r., narrow r., old English motto r., wedding r., widow r.*

silver 4 July 1814 – 18 April 1821 > *apple scoop; argyle, a. handle; basin; beaker; beef steak dish; book clasp & button; box (oblong, round, square), b. bottom, b. top, fancy b., scent b., shaving b., snuff b., s.-b. mounting, spitting b.; bottle stand, dram b., shooting b., smelling b.; bread basket; buckle: boot b., habit b., stock b.; butter boat, handles for b.-b.; butter pail; button: shirt b.; cake basket; can & cover; candlestick: chamber c., round c. shade c., taper c.; caster frame, c. top & label, frame mounting; chain & swivel; cheese pan, ch. plate, ch. toaster; child's can, c.'s feeder, bent feeder, c.'s vase; chocolate pot; clasp, shoe cl., cl. top; cocoanut mounting; coffee biggin, c. pot, c.-p. handle, c.-p. knob, c.-p. mounting, c.-p. stand; coffin plate; collar, dog c.; communion plate; cork; cover for glass; cream basin, cr. jug, mounting for jug, cr. pot; cup & cover, Catteric c. & c., chalice c., crown for c.-c., York c. & c.; dish & cover, d. handle; dog couples lock; ear trumpet; egg cup; ewer; extinguisher; fork: desert f. salad f., table f.; flagon, quart fl.; gill; goblet & stand; gorget; grater, nutmeg gr.; grape scissors; horn mounting; ink glass mounting, i.-gl. top, i. stand, patent i.-st., i.-st. mounting, i.-st. top; knife: butter kn., cheese kn., fish kn., oyster kn., slide kn., kn. blade, kn. rest; ladle: butter l., caddy l., cream l., decanter l., punch l., sirup l., sugar l., wine l.; lancet case; larding pin; lion patty pan; liquor frame; medal case; set masonary medals; milk pot, m.-p. handle & knob; mouthpiece; mull mounting; muffineer, m. top; mustard pot, m.-p. mounting, knob & top, m. glass top; nipple plate; nozzle; pap boat; pencil case; pepper box, p. caster; pitcher, p. mounting, cover to p.; plate; salt; saucepan & cover; seal, office s., wafer s.; shaving brush mounting, sh. glass rim; skewer; snuffer tray; soy frames; spectacles; spoon: breakfast sp., caddy sp., cayenne sp., coffee sp., desert sp., egg sp., gravy sp., gr.-sp. grate, honey sp., mustard sp., salt sp., sauce sp., table sp., tea sp., sp. bowl; spurs; square & compasses; stud; sucking horn; sugar basin; tea caddy inside; tea pot, t.-p. handle, knob and stand, t. urn; ticket; toast rack; tongs: asparagus t., sugar t.; tongue scraper; tooth pick case: tube, bent t.; tureen & cover, crest for t.; waiter (oval, round); wax taper; whip mounting; whistle.*

Decoration: *fiddle, french, K(ings) pattern, plain, shelled (on spoons etc.); french, plain, threaded (ladle); chased, fluted, hooped, shelled (tankard, goblet etc.); chased, fluted, gadrooned, plain, swagged, threaded (teapot, milkpot, coffeepot etc.).*

James Barber freeman of York 1814 (jeweller).

James Barber and William Whitwell, goldsmiths, silversmiths and jewellers, watch and clockmakers, Coney Street (TD 1816/7–1818).

York Courant 24 October 1814 'J. Barber begs permission to acquaint his Friends and the Public in general, that on the 1st of January last, he took Mr. William Whitwell (who for several Years past has been an Assistant in the Business) into Partnership, and that in future it will be carried on in all its Branches, by Barber & Whitwell, at the old Shops, in Coney-street . . . ' (see below CATTLES & BARBER).

⁸Details of the various jewellers, of their partnerships and advertisements are derived from Davies, R., *Freeman's Roll of York* (York 1835), trade directories (TD) and local newspapers.

> indicates that further assays are assumed to have been recorded in missing ledgers before or after the date noted.

Yorkshire Gazette 26 April 1823 'On Thursday, the 24th inst, after a painful illness, borne with Christian fortitude and resignation, aged 36, Mr. Wm. Whitwell, of the firm of Messrs. Barber and Whitwell, of this city, silversmiths, jewellers, &c; a gentleman highly respected by all who knew him, and whose death will be deeply lamented by his family and a most respectable circle of friends.'

Mr. BOOTH (G., G. B., Wm., Wm. B. Booth)

Assays: gold 7 June 1805 – 22 July 1815 *ring: wedding r.*

Messrs. Booth of Selby.

Of the 18 entries in the assay ledger referring to Messrs. Booth, nine are without initial; 'G. Booth' appears once (1807), 'G. B. Booth' three times (1806–1810), 'Wm. Booth' four times (1808–1811) and Wm. B. Booth' once (1806).

Mr. Rt. CATTLE

Assays: gold 14 December 1807 *button; ring.*

silver 14 December 1807 *apple scoop; box; buckle; butter ladle; chalice & plate; clasp; egg cup, e. frame; fox; goblet; salt; skewer; spoon; teapot.*

Robert Cattle freeman of York 1807 (silversmith).

York Courant 9 November 1807 'R. Cattle, Goldsmith, Jeweller, Watchmaker and Engraver, York, Begg leave very respectfully to solicit a continuance of the obliging commands of the Nobility, Gentry, and Public, in the above different branches of Business, which has been principally conducted by him for several years past, in the Old Shop, Coney Street . . . ' (see below CATTLES & BARBER and PRINCE & CATTLES).

Messrs. CATTLES & BARBER

Assays: gold 7 January 1808 – 22 June 1814 *button; ring: motto r., mourning r., narrow r., wedding r., widow r.*

silver 27 December 1807 – 22 June 1814 *apple scoop; argyle; basin; beaker; beef gallows; belt plate; book case; pocket clasp book; bottle stand, b. top, brandy b., dram b.; box, b. lid, b. for inkstand, scent b., shaving b., snuff b.; bread basket; breast plate; buckle: habit b.; butter boat; button: coat b., shirt b.; caddy handle, c. lining; can; candlestick, c. nozzle; caster, c. frame, c. top; chalice, ch. cup & cover; cheese toaster; child's boat; church flagon; clasp, shoe cl.; coconut feet, c. stand; coffee pot, c.-p. handle & knob, c.-p. stand & lamp, c. strainer; coffin plate; collar, dog c.; compasses; coral; cream basin, cr. jug, cr. pot; crown; cruet frame, cr. top; cup & cover, c. mounting, wine c.; dish, d. with cover, d. stand, steak d.; ear trumpet, e. tube; egg cup, e. crusher, e. frame; epergne; escalop shell; fawn's foot mount; figure of Mercury; fish dish & plate; flute key; fork: desert f., oyster f., salad f., table f.; fox; fruit basket; funnel; garter chains; gill; glass mounting; goblet; gorget; grater; grey hound; horn, h. mounting, child's h., drinking h., nipple h., suckling h., sugar h.; ink square top; ink stand, i.-st. glass top, i.-st. mounting, i.-st. top; joint; jug; knife: kn. blade, kn. haft, kn. mounting, kn. rest, kn. tray, butter kn., cheese kn., fish kn., f.-kn. blade, fruit kn.; label; ladle: butter l., caddy l., cream l., negusla pepper l., punch l., salt l., soup l., sugar l.; lamp, l. & stand; liquor frame; medal, freemason m.; milk pot; mouthpiece; muffineer; mustard frame, m. glass mounting, m. pot, m.-p. top; pap boat; pencil case; pepper box top; pestle & mortar; pint; pitcher, p.rim; plate, octagonal p.; powder flask; rim; ring, r. for umbrella; salt; saucepan & cover; scissors, grape sc.; scoop; scraper; seal, s. bottom, watch s.; skewer; shaving brush; shield; shovel, salad sh., salt sh.; snuffer, s. tray; soy frame; spectacles; spoon: cayenne sp., coffee sp., desert sp., egg sp., gravy sp., gr.-sp. grate, honey sp., marrow sp., mustard sp., salt sp., sugar sp., table sp., tea sp.; spurs; strainer; stud; sugar basin, s. breaker, s. pot; tankard, t. head; tea caddy, t.-c. ring, t. chest; teapot, t.-p. bottom, t.-p. handle, t.-p. stand, t. urn; ticket, theatre t.; tip; tongs: asparagus t., sugar t., tea t.; tongue scraper; top; tube feeder; tureen & cover; waiter; wax taper frame; whistle; wine funnel, w.-f. rim, w. tube.*

Robert Cattle and James Barber, working jewellers, goldsmiths and watchmakers, Coney Street (TD 1809/11).

York Courant 4 January 1808 'R. Cattle, Goldsmith, Jeweller, Watchmaker &c, Begg leave again very respectfully to return his most sincere thanks to the numerous Friends and Employers of his late Partners and himself; and to inform them that he has this day taken into Partnership James Barber, (who has already been in the same Shop eight years) . . . ' (see above Rt. CATTLE, below PRINCE & CATTLES).

York Courant 24 October 1814 ' . . . the Partnership hitherto carried on between Robert Cattle and James Barber, of the City of York, Silversmiths and Jewellers, was, on the 1st Day of January last, Dissolved by mutual consent, and that all Debts due to and from the said Partnership will be received and paid by the said James Barber' (see above BARBER & WHITWELL).

Mr. Wm. CATTELL

Assays: gold 22 March 1816 – 20 October 1820 > *ring.*

silver 16 April 1816 – 23 January 1821 > *cruet top; label; spoon.*

William Cattell freeman of York 1812 (jeweller).

Gold and silversmith, and jeweller, Stonegate (TD 1816/7–1823).

Mr. L. CREASER

Assay: gold 21 January 1809 *ring.*

Luke Creaser freeman of York 1809 (jeweller).

Messrs. ETHERINGTON & CROSLY

Assay: gold 10 April 1805 *ring.*

William Etherington freeman of York 1788 (silversmith).

William Etherington and Jonas Crossley, Manchester, working jewellers etc., St. Ann's Square (TD 1804).

Etherington was described as 'working jeweller, gold and silversmith' (*York Courant* 1 August 1786, TD 1802), and Crossley as 'dealer in hardware' (TD 1788) and 'jeweller, goldsmith and tea dealer' (TD 1802).

Mr. R. GAINSFORD

Assay: silver 27 May 1809 *caster top; cream jug; cruet frame; rim for mustard top; teapot.*

Robert Gainsford, Sheffield, plater, close plater and silversmith, Eyre Street (marks for silver and plated goods registered with Sheffield assay office 1808). Formerly in partnership with Goodman (*see below*), in 1808 Gainsford went into partnership with Thomas Nicholson, (*see Bradbury, F., History of Old Sheffield Plate (1912), 437.*)

Robert Gainsford and Co., manufacturers of silver and plated goods, Eyre Street (TD 1814–1815).

Messrs. GOODMAN, GAINSFORD & CO.

Assay: silver 11 August 1807 *candlestick.*

Alexander Goodman, Robert Gainsford and George Fairbairn, Sheffield, manufacturers of silver and plated goods, Hawley Croft (TD 1797; marks for silver (1801) and plated goods (1800) registered with Sheffield assay office), (*see above R. GAINSFORD*).

Mr. E. JACKSON

Assays: gold 9 May 1817 – 19 June 1821 > *button; ring: motto r., narrow r., wedding r.*

silver 10 July 1817 – 19 April 1821 > *biggin; buckle: habit b., shoe b.; caster frame, c. top; cheese toaster; child's boat; cream jug; cup, c. body; dish; egg cup; extinguisher; fork; desert f., oyster f., salad f., table f.; horn, h. lining; ink stand; knife, butter kn., fish kn., honey kn.; label; ladle: butter l., caddy l., punch l., sauce l., soup l.; liquor frame; masonic jewel; milk pot; muffineer; mug rim; mustard pot; pencil; salt, s. shovel; skewer; snuffer tray; spoon: caddy sp., cayenne sp., desert sp., egg sp., gravy sp., marrow sp., mustard sp., salad sp., salt sp., table sp., tea sp. (fiddle, french, plain, shell); spurs; teapot; toast rack; tongs; toothpick case; wine funnel, f. stand.*

Edward Jackson freeman of York 1807 (jeweller).

Gold and silversmith, working jeweller, watch and clockmaker, silver plate manufacturer and fancy hair worker, Coney Street (TD 1818–1843).

York Chronicle 27 February 1817 '... French and Plain Shillings, Refused by the Inspectors, are purchased by Edward Jackson, Jeweller, Goldsmith, and general Dealer in Diamonds, Pearls, Gems &c.'

York Chronicle 24 July 1817 'E. Jackson, Working Jeweller, Goldsmith and, Plate Manufacturer, Coney Street, York, . . . respectfully solicits the attention of Ladies, Gentlemen, &c, to the extensive Assortment of fashionable Articles in Jewellery, Plate, &c, which he can with confidence recommend for taste and elegance, on moderate Terms. Having conducted the Working Department of Messrs. Cattle and Barber for eight years, and lately been in London, he flatters himself, from such practice, aided by some of the first Workmen from London &c. that he shall be enabled to execute whatever Orders may be intrusted to him, in a superior style, at reasonable charges. A fashionable Assortment of Mourning Rings, Patterns &c. always kept for inspection. E. J. manufacturing a quantity of Gold and Silver, enables him to allow the utmost value for Diamonds, Pearls, Gold, Silver &c. . . .'

Mr. Robt. JONES

Assay: gold 24 July 1806 *ring.*

Robert Jones, Tadcaster.

Mr. J. HARRISON

Assay: gold 12 August 1817 *wedding ring.*

Entry deleted.

John Harrison freeman of York 1818 (jeweller).

Silversmith and jeweller, Blake Street (TD 1834).

Yorkshire Gazette 17 March 1832 'John Harrison, Late Foreman to Messrs. Barber, Cattle and Co, Working Goldsmith, Jeweller, & Chaser, 43, Coney Street, York, (opposite the George Inn) Most respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, and Public in general, that he has taken the above situation, for the purpose of working in the various branches of his Business, humbly hoping, that 25 years experience in the Firm of Messrs. Barber, Cattle, and Co (15 of which as principal Workman), will entitle him to a share of public Patronage and Support, which it will be his constant endeavour to merit, by strict attention, punctuality, superior Workmanship, and reasonable Charges. N.B. Diamonds, Pearls &c, set to any Pattern – Mourning Rings neatly made on the shortest notice. Diamonds, Pearls, Gold and Silver, bought, sold or exchanged . . .'

Messrs. PRINCE & CATTLES

Assays: gold > 4 January 1805 – 11 August 1807 *button; ring.*

silver > 4 January 1805 – 20 October 1807 *apple scoop; argyle; beaker; bit plate; box, b. cover, b. frame for brush; bread basket; breast plate; brush case; buckle, habit b.; butter boat & cover; button; can, suckling c.; candlestick, flat c., c. socket; caster frame, c. top; chalice; cheese toaster; church flagon; clasp, habit c.; coffeepot, lamp & stand; compasses; cover, c. for glass; cream jug, cr. pot; cup & cover; dish; dram bottle; egg breases; escallop shell; extinguishers; fish plate; fork: salad f., table f.; glass frame; goblet; grater; gravy dish, gr. spoon; horn mounting, h. tip; inkstand, i.-st. top; jews harp; knife: butter kn., kn. blade; label; ladle: butter l., punch l., salt l., soup l.; lamp & stand; medal, masons m.; milk pot; mounting for shell; muffineer; mug tip; mull cover; mustard pot, m.-p. lining; pan cover; pencil case; pint; plate; salt; salver; saucepan; scissors; scooper; seal; skewer; snuffer stand; soup shell; soy frame; spectacle case; spur; stand; stud; suckling horn; sugar basin, s. shovel; tankard; tea caddy, t.-c. handle; tea kettle & lamp; tea pot, t.-p. cover, t.-p. spout, t.-p. stand; toast rack; tongs: sugar t., tea t.; tongue scraper; toothpick case; top for mounting glass; tureen & cover; waiter; whistle; wine funnel stand, w. strainer.*

John Prince freeman of York 1771 (jeweller), and Robert Cattle freeman of York 1807 (silversmith).

Hampston, Prince & Co., silversmiths, Coney Street (TD 1805).

York Courant 9 November 1807 '... The Partnership between John Prince and Robert Cattle, lately carried on under the firm of "Hampston, Prince and Cattles" afterwards "Prince and Cattles" Jewellers and Silversmiths, in Coney-Street, York, was dissolved on the First Day of November last. All Persons having any Demands upon the said copartnership and those indebted thereto, are requested to apply to R. Cattle, in Coney-Street, York, who is authorised to receive and settle the same' (*see above Rt. CATTLE*).

Messrs. ROBERTS, CADM & Co.

Assay: silver 2 June 1809 *patent toast tray*.

Samuel Roberts junior, George Cadman and George Ingall, Sheffield, platers and silversmiths, Eyre Street (marks for silver (1786) and plated goods (1785) registered with the Sheffield assay office). In 1807 they took out a patent for folding toast racks (*see* Bradbury, F., *History of Old Sheffield Plate* (1912), 43).

Mr. C. WATSON

Assays: gold 22 November 1814 – 8 February 1821 > *ring*; > *wedding r.*

silver 31 August 1815 – 26 December 1820 > *box*; *button*, *sleeve b.*; *caddy shell box*; *label*; *medal*; *salt*.

Christopher Watson freeman of York 1810 (jeweller).

Gold and silversmith, and jeweller, Pavement (TD 1816/7–1818), Low Ousegate (TD 1828/9–1834).

York Courant 22 August 1814 '... C. Watson, Adjoining the White Swan, Pavement (Upwards of Eleven Years with Messrs. Cattle and Barber) Begg leave most respectfully to acquaint his Friends and the Public, he has commenced the Business of working jeweller, in all its Branches ...'.

York Chronicle 10 December 1818 'C. Watson, Working Jeweller, Goldsmith and Watchmaker, dealer in Old Coins, Medals and China, Begg leave most respectfully to inform his Friends and the Public, that he has removed from the Pavement to a spacious Shop in New Bridge Street, Corner of Skeldergate ... N.B. A most R.R. Collection of Coins, Medals, and China; also a Valuable Assortment of All Kinds of Jewellery, Watches, Plated Goods, Rich cut glass, teas &c. &c.'.

York Gazette 13 April 1822 'C. Watson Working Goldsmith, Jeweller and Watch-maker, Dealer in Cut Glass, genuine Teas &c. ... has removed from the Corner of Skeldergate, to the House immediately adjoining the Bank of Messrs. Wentworth, Chaloner and Co., Low Ousegate, where he has on hand a Choice and Elegant Assortment of Jewellery, Silver, Plated, Japanned, and Metal Goods of every description. Also a rare collection of Gold, Silver and Brass Coins, Medals &c. N.B. Mourning, Wedding, and Fancy Rings with dispatch – The best Price given for Diamonds, Pearls, Gold, Silver, and Lace'.

Year	YORK			NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE		
	Ounces of Plate		Amount of Duty	Ounces of Plate		Amount of Duty
	Gold	Silver		Gold	Silver	
	oz:dwt	oz	£ s d	oz	oz	£ s d
1805	107: 7	3783	268: 9: 1	148: 8	18020	1218:18: 1
1806	111: 7	3657	264: 0: 8	191:10	18929	1302: 2: 5
1807	99: 5	3924	270: 5:10½	159: 1	18109	1232:12: 0
1808	104: 2	4924	326: 2: 4½	176: 5	18306	1252: 4:10
1809	92: 5	5546	349: 6: 2½	119:14	20001	1313: 4: 3
1810	100: 4	5162	333:13:11	173:12	22257	1491:15: 9¾
1811	75:19	5749	349: 8: 6½	192:16	21992	1493: 0:10
1812	63: 3	5563	332: 1: 9½	157:18	19134	1275: 4: 2
1813	65: 8	4729	281:18: 9½	102: 9	16989	1114:17: 8
1814	80: 1	3755	248: 7: 1	128: 9	18295	1215: 6: 8½
1815	59:14	5679	349: 5: 0¼	127: 0	18724	1309:16: 6
1816	39: 7	4278	301:12: 8¾	142: 3	9744	833:11: 7¾
1817	70:15	6554	461: 1: 5¾	98:12	12177	971:17: 3¾
1818	61: 1	6540	445:16: 9½	98: 9	10398	841: 7: 2½
1819	52:18	7645	519:14: 1¾	91: 2	9571	775: 5:11
1820	65:18	7897	533: 3: 2	103: 5	9809	808:14: 9¾
1821	17:12	2288	154:10: 7½	99:15	8495	703:11: 2½
1850	9	986	80:16: 7¾	181	8640	802:16:11
1851	19	1003	91:17:10½	179	9590	862: 3: 6¾
1852	26	1033	100: 2: 8½	174	8350	774:13: 1
1853	16	716	68: 2: 8½	172	9159	833:10: 8
1854	26	1272	117:19:10¾	217	10800	994:16:10

Table comparing the number of ounces of gold and silver plate assayed at York and Newcastle upon Tyne, and the amount of duty accounted for to the Inland Revenue Office.⁹

⁹ Accounts for 1805–1821 are based on figures in the ledgers of the respective assay offices (N.B. the figures for York in 1821 cover only the half-year till 19 June). Figures for 1850–1854 are those quoted by the Inland Revenue Office June 1855 and published with the *Report of the Inspector-General of Stamps and Taxes ... 1851, as relates to the Assaying and Marking of Gold and Silver Plate at Exeter, Newcastle, Chester and York* (1855).

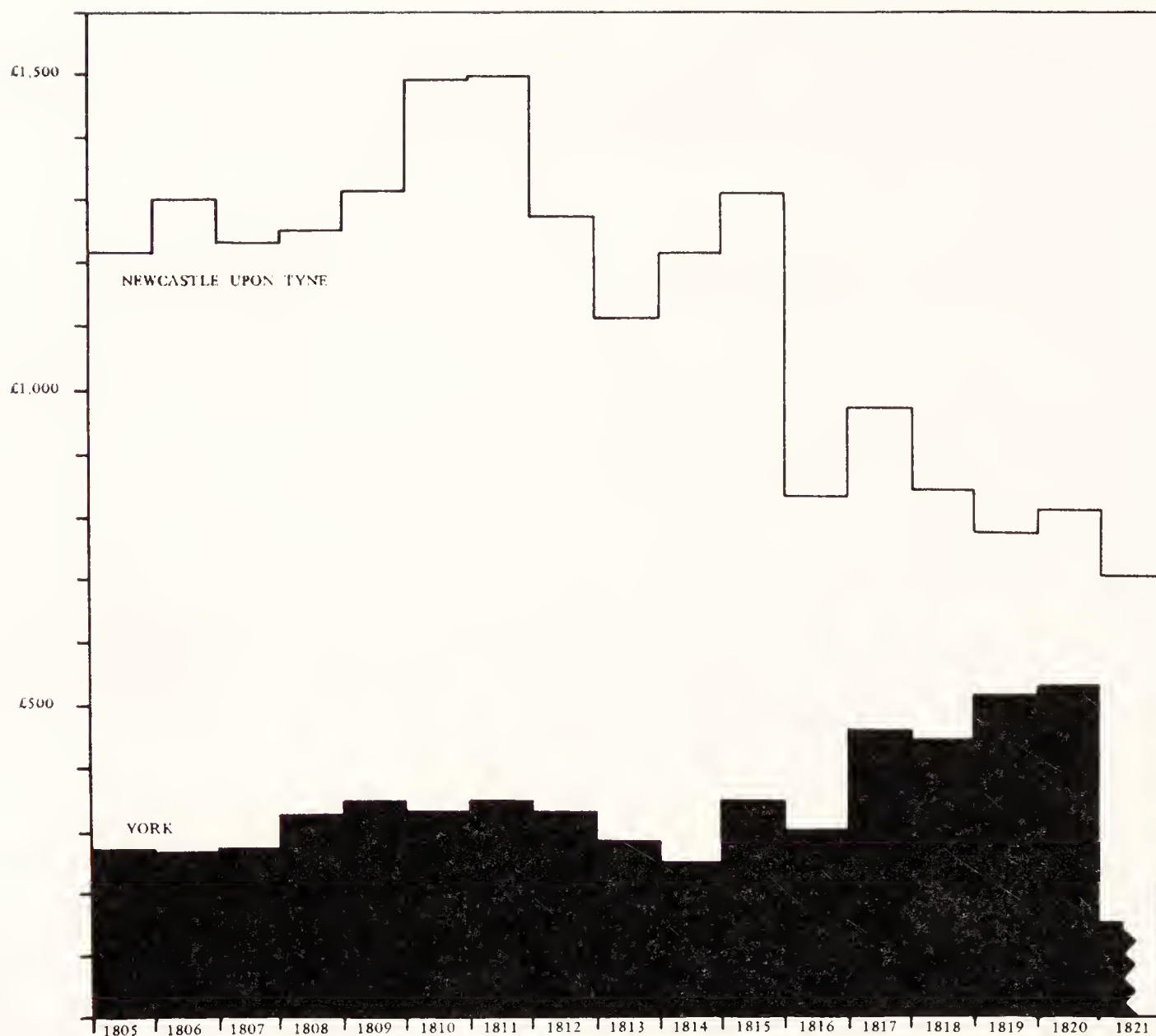


FIG. 1. Bar-chart showing duty paid to Inland Revenue Office on gold and silver assayed at the York and Newcastle upon Tyne offices (based on Table p. 124).
Vertical scale 1/20 in. = £20.
Horizontal scale 1/4 in. = 1 year.

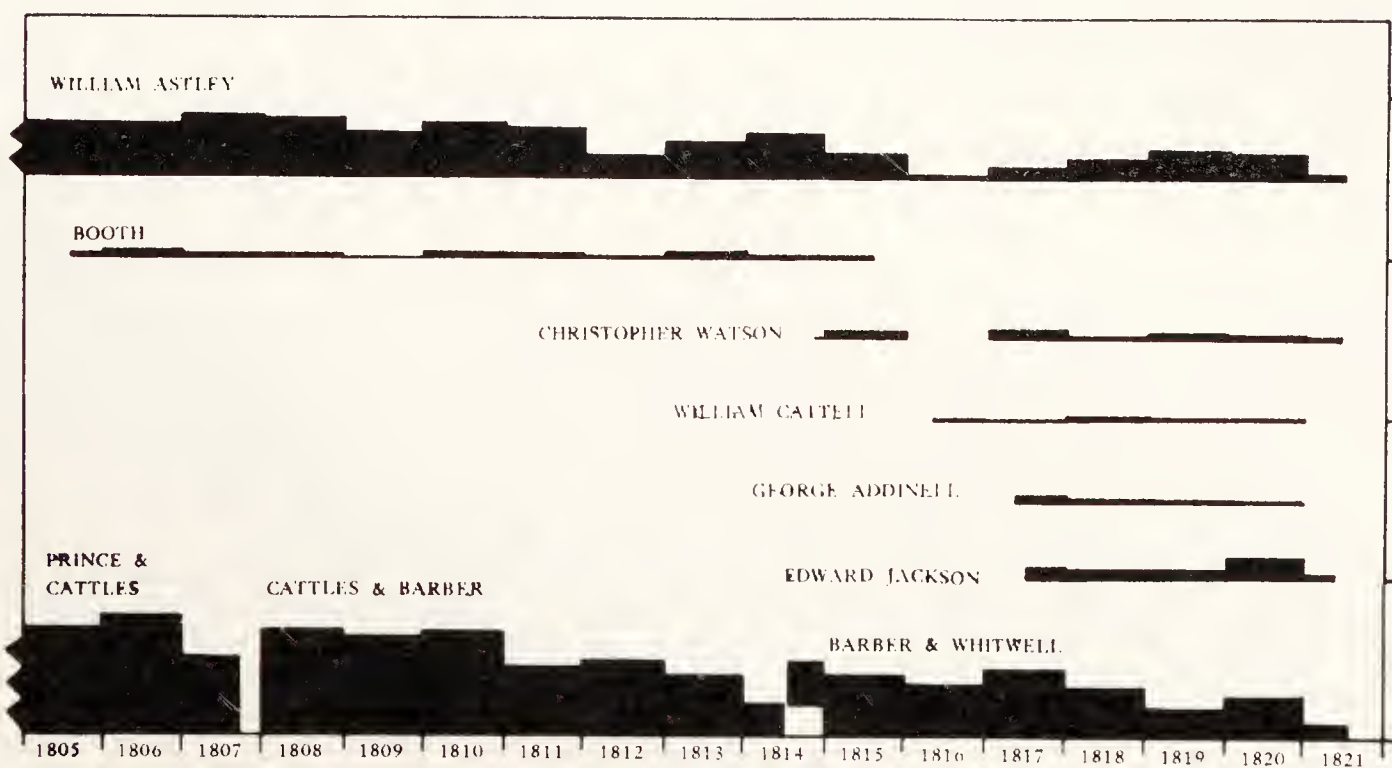


FIG. 2. Bar-chart showing amount of GOLD assayed at the York office for the principal jewellers (based on Table p. 124).
Vertical scale 1/20 in. = 10 ounces.
Horizontal scale 1/4 in. = 1 year.

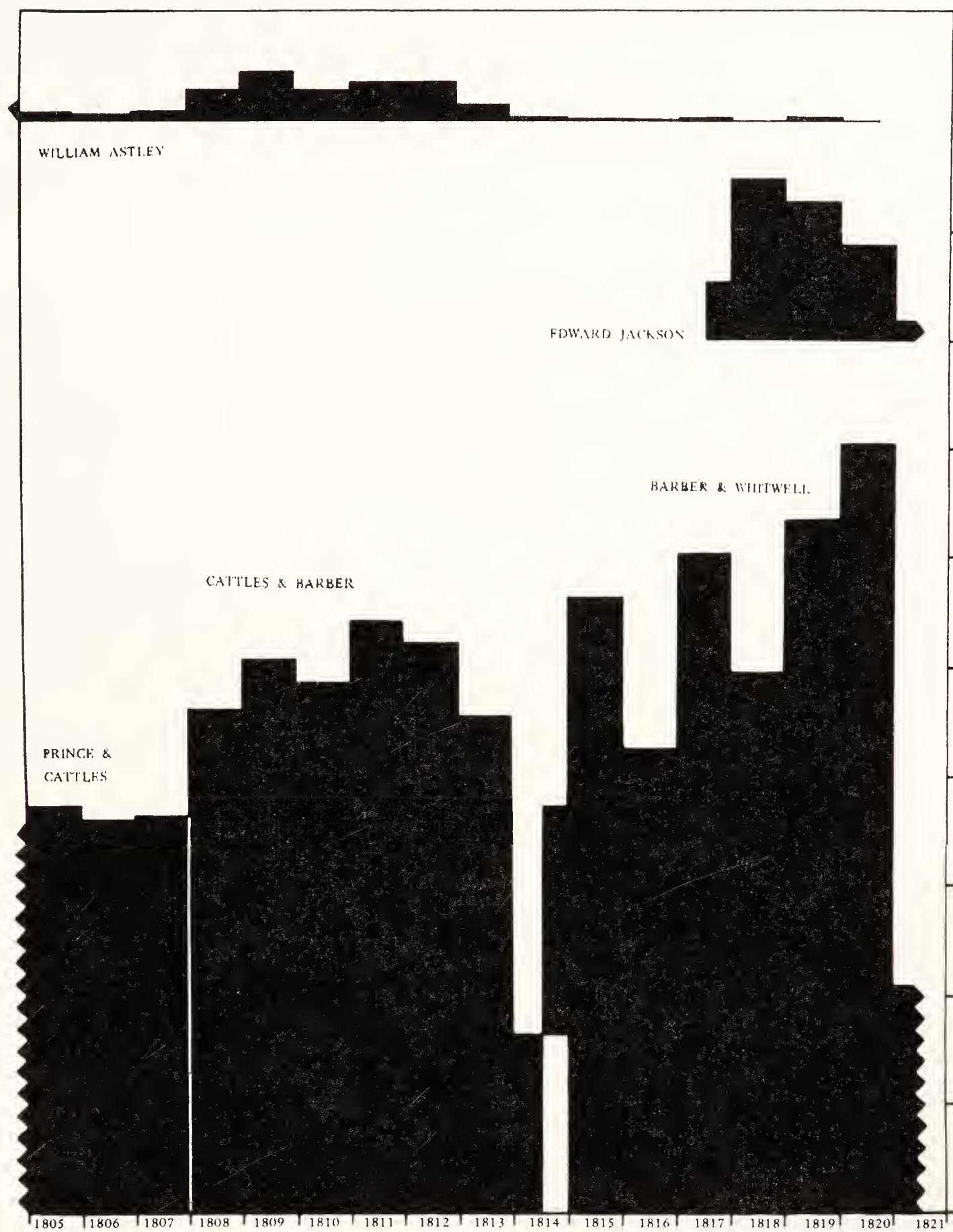


FIG. 3. Bar-chart showing amount of SILVER assayed at the York office for the principal silversmiths (based on Table P. 124).

Vertical scale $\frac{1}{20}$ in. = 100 ounces.

Horizontal scale $\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 1 year.

Table showing the amount (in ounces, pennyweights and grains) of gold and silver plate assayed at the York office in the year

[illegible]

5-1821.

1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	
13. 5.15 23.11. 0	22. 3. 1 131.12. 0	27. 5.12 29. 1. 0	13. 6. 3 19.17. 0	2. 9. 5 4. 7. 0	8. 7. 3 10.12. 0	12.13.16 1. 3. 0	19. 6.13 18. 4. 0	17. 6. 0 8. 7. 0	3.11. 8 —	gold silver
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gold
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	silver
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gold
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	silver
48. 7. 0 39. 1. 0	39.19.12 4597. 5. 0	20. 5. 0 1625. 2. 0	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	gold silver
—	—	29. 6. 0 2100. 7. 0	40. 3. 0 5654.11. 0	35. 1. 2 4269.18. 0	42. 2.12 6031.13. 0	32.19. 0 4958. 4. 0	18. 1. 0 6342.13. 0	27. 2. 0 7019.17. 0	10.15. 0 2091. 4. 0	gold silver
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gold
1.10. 0	3. 5. 0	2. 6.12	0.15.12	—	—	—	—	—	—	gold
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gold
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	silver
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	silver
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gold
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	silver
—	—	0.17.12 —	5. 9.12 4. 3. 0	— —	6.10. 1 —	1.18. 0 4. 6.12	3. 3. 0 12. 4.12	1. 1. 0 0. 3. 0	1.14. 0 —	gold silver
—	—	—	—	1.17. 2 3. 6. 0	1. 8.10 —	2. 8.20 —	2. 3. 0 —	1.18.22 1. 8. 0	— 1. 2.0	gold silver
—	—	—	—	—	3. 6. 0	2. 6. 0	2.19.10	1.11.12	—	gold
—	—	—	—	—	9. 1. 8 510. 5. 0	8.15.14 1490.16. 0	7. 4. 22 1279. 7. 0	14.18.18 854.18. 0	1.11.10 195. 3. 0	gold silver
—	—	—	—	—	0. 3.12 (entryde't'd)	—	—	—	—	gold

THE ORIGINS OF LOW MOOR IRONWORKS, BRADFORD, 1788-1800

BY GARY FIRTH

Summary This article is intended to demonstrate the origins of a large scale capital enterprise in the emergent industrial region of Bradford during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Capital investment and the employment of labour on such a scale were hitherto unknown in Bradford's history of private enterprise. In analysing the foundation of the Low Moor Ironworks three important factors are examined. These are the employment of staff able to implement the rapidly increasing technical innovations of the time, the need to establish an internal administrative structure of managerial and technical efficiency, and finally, perhaps of most importance, the need to maintain financial stability through wise investment and the employment of reliable credit facilities.

I

Low Moor was part of the ancient manor of Wibsey and of the township of North Bierley within the parish of Bradford. Before 1790 the area was a large expanse of open moorland, 2 miles south of Bradford, on a slope adjoining the main highway to Huddersfield. Below the surface was a 3-foot seam of Black Bed coal, which supported a very thick and irregular stratum containing the district's invaluable ironstone. The second and most important coal seam, the Better Bed coal, 18-28 inches thick, lay 120 feet below. A further 700 feet down lay the Halifax coal seams and, immediately below them, the Millstone Grit formation.¹

These were the mineral deposits at Low Moor, but it was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that their true value was realised. The coals had been worked for at least four centuries. Under the Stuarts the Rookes family, as lords of the manor, had leased mineral rights to colliers and to anyone willing to scratch at the surface for a few house coals. William Rookes was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward, who took the name of Leedes from his first marriage. Leedes's activities in the field of mineral extraction were extensive.² By 1775 he had planned for his mineral estates something more than scratching at the surface coals. He visualised an enormous colliery network linked by railroads to the main arteries of transport and communication in the area. For 'twenty years he was a trader in coals',³ and along with Abraham Balme and John Jarratt he was supplying the fuel needs of the locality.

However, Leedes visualised wider markets, perhaps exports, and hoped by vigorous investment in several local transport schemes to realise the true potential of his land. There was talk of his 'great plans of improvement . . . which would have all the benefits from it or in a great measure what your imagination suggests to you it is capable of'.⁴ In his attempt to raise capital he failed, for money was scarce and the American war imposed on everyone. In August 1781 he was declared bankrupt but still continued to believe in the potential of his lands. He informed his attorney, James Graham, in August 1784 that the small Wood Colliery

will bring in £3,000 a year if there was a Newcastle Waggon Way made to Brigghouse and £1,000 a year if it was only made to Lightcliff,

and he made greater claims for the large colliery:

there is the manor of 500 acres of Common, Ironstone etc. Reversion of the £1,000 p.a. Colliery at the 3rd year end which will bring in £10,000 a year and coal getting 200 years . . .⁵

¹ A. H. Green, *Geology of the Yorkshire Coalfield*, (1836), p. 659.

² G. Firth, 'The Genesis of the Industrial Revolution in Bradford 1760-1830, (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Bradford Univ. 1974) pp. 238-243.

³ Y(ork) M(inster) L(ibrary), Hailstone Collection, PP.73.

⁴ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. HH.5.31.

⁵ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. PP.5.

His chance was gone; even though his claims were justified, his attorney did not believe them. He accused Leedes of overvaluing his estate:

you make the principal increase of value which you suppose will take place a few years hence upon speculation only.⁶

The amount of capital required by Leedes was too great for him alone, and others were to succeed where he failed. A valuation of the Royds Hall estate was made by Jonathan Sharpe, who estimated the annual value at £2,119 6s. 5d. and the total capital value at £45,494. Mr. Nathan Jowett, a good friend and neighbour to Leedes, who later acted as one of his assignees, commented upon this valuation:

I should suppose this to be a very moderate value put upon the estate and in my opinion it is worth more but what the creditors will allow the assignees to take I do not yet know . . .⁷

The estate *in toto* was placed under auction in December 1786 at the Sun Inn, Bradford. Bids failed to meet the required selling price and most men wanted the estate to be distributed in small lots. The estate was withdrawn but was brought under the hammer once more ten months later. Again a reserved price was not met and the lot was withdrawn.

On a journey to North Milford in August 1785 Leedes had taken his own life. There was some hurry to sell the estate and pay off creditors. Consequently early in September 1789 the estate was bought by a group of Bradford businessmen for the ridiculously low price of £33,200. The purchase was made by a private agreement and the original partners were John Preston, Richard Hird and John Jarratt. Certainly these three had leased parts of the Low Moor estate previous to the purchase, as well as collieries at Bankfoot.⁸ Preston and Jarratt were involved in the local woollen trade and all three had bought shares in the Leeds-Liverpool and Bradford Canal schemes.⁹

However, in May 1778, all three men had bound themselves for £1,900 to William Rookes (brother to Edward Leedes) for the purchase of premises in Bradford.¹⁰ The area was large enough for a warehouse, workshop and the like. Some weeks later in the same year the firm of Preston, Hird and Jarratt supplied the Bradford Lime Kiln Company with 211 tons of limestone, a supply which rose to 481 tons in September and 683 tons in October. For the next four years the partnership continued to act as limestone suppliers to the company. This supply was not regular, nor were they able to replace Mr. T. Leach as the main supplier until his bankruptcy in 1781. By midsummer of 1783 the Lime Kiln Company's affairs were in a sad state, but in that July Preston and company (already owning 31 of the company's 90 shares) decided to lease the limekilns from the company in an attempt to put the enterprise back on its feet. The lime kiln concern eased them into the role of joint industrial entrepreneurs while others were working in isolation. When the mineral estates of Royds Hall came onto the market they were natural contenders for ownership.

Within months of that purchase the number of partners was increased to six. Buying the land had badly punctured the accumulated funds of Preston and partners. Extracting minerals on a scale large enough to be profitable meant the investment of even more capital into extending the works and equipment which Edward Leedes had used. Into the partnership were brought John Hardy, the Reverend Joseph Dawson and the only outsider, John Lofthouse from Liverpool. Hardy was an attorney-at-law and one of his commissions was to act as land steward to Walter Spencer-Stanhope of Cannon Hall. As such, he was responsible for his collieries at Thornton and Horsforth. Hardy himself had invested in the Silkstone coals, 'but the roads made him part with his purchase there'. He continued to supervise the working of the Silkstone bed and was learning all the time about colliery

⁶ Y.M.L. *Ibid.*

⁷ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. HH.5.31.

⁸ W. Cudworth, *Round About Bradford*, (Bradford, 1876), p. 57.

⁹ W. E. Preston, 'Some Notes on an Old Bradford Partnership', *Bradford Antiquary*. New Series, III, pp. 312-25.

¹⁰ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. PP.73. 1 May, 1778.

¹¹ B(radford) C(entral L(ibrary), Bradford Lime Kiln Company Papers, Minute Book, 30 July, 1783.

techniques and management.¹²

In 1784 Hardy played an important part in persuading Prime Minister Pitt not to introduce a duty on coal. He organised colliery owners into a county committee and with the assistance of William Wilberforce M.P. the petition to Pitt was successful.¹³ It was such qualities, as well as his cash, which John Hardy brought to the Low Moor Company in 1789. His knowledge of the law and his ability to transform a justified cause into a coherent opposition on county or national level (and in accordance with the law) were qualities invaluable to any nascent firm and industry.

The Reverend Joseph Dawson brought a different kind of talent, that of science and the new technology.¹⁴ Of Nonconformist stock, he was born in 1740 and attended a Dissenting Academy at Daventry where he met the celebrated Dr. Joseph Priestley of Birstall, whose friendship he retained until his death. Dawson put in a short appearance at Glasgow University. He returned to his family in Idle, Bradford, where, at the age of twenty nine, he was ordained minister of the Upper Chapel. His salary of £40 per annum was obviously not enough for his needs, for within a short time he had opened a number of coal mines close to the chapel.¹⁵ Dawson, in combination with others also quarried stone in Idle. The stone, of varying quality and sizes, was sent along the Leeds-Liverpool Canal.¹⁶ These small industrial beginnings were supported by an active farming of the lands which his living gave him. His spare time was spent in experimentation in general science and Joseph Priestley tutored him in this field.

For some years, Dawson's Arian preachings had antagonised many of Idle's dissenters. His congregation began to dwindle and criticism mounted. Consequently in 1788 he resigned his ministry and devoted himself to what he liked most, science and business affairs. Although Dawson was not a brilliant scientist, he had a scientific and enquiring mind, for it was he who first spotted the advantages of Better Bed coal as a counterpart to Black Bed ironstone.¹⁷ This was the very formula which brought prosperity and success to the company and the one on which a whole new industry in Bradford would be based.

By December, 1789, Lofthouse was acting as a sleeping partner within the partnership. Although Preston was a partner he had died on 15 June 1789 before the actual purchase was made. His will carefully stressed the importance of his industrial investments.

I have sunk a very considerable sum of money in certain collieries held by me together with my good friends Richard Hird and John Jarratt . . . none of the said collieries shall be sold or disposed of for any purpose of this my will because I have great hopes that by continuing the same, the money I have sunk therein will be returned to my estate and because I am confident that no sale could be made thereof without great loss.¹⁸

His son had not yet reached his majority and the management of the investments may have caused trouble until such time as he came of age. Whatever the reason, Preston's executors went directly against the instructions of his will by withdrawing his shares and cashing them in. It is significant that Richard Hird was one of the three executors! With Preston's death, and Jarratt and Lofthouse as sleeping partners, the running of the company was left in the hands of Hird, Dawson and Hardy, whose families managed the firm through its extensive life.

For the fifty years after 1790 the Low Moor Company became the most renowned of all Yorkshire ironworks. The iron industry had made significant progress throughout the eighteenth century. In spite of the successful experiments at Coalbrookdale with the carbonisation of coal into coke, charcoal continued to be the predominant fuel for iron-making. Professor Ashton has gone into some detail to explain why this was so.¹⁹ Whatever

¹² B.C.L. Spencer-Stanhope MS. 2168, 2 Feb., 1801.

¹³ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. Box 5.16.

¹⁴ A. & S. Henry, *Fortunes Made in Business*, (1887), vol. I, pp. 93-128.

¹⁵ S(heffield) C(entral) L(ibrary), Spencer-Stanhope MS. 60579, 17 Nov., 1803.

¹⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 15 Sept., 1789.

¹⁷ A. & S. Henry, *op. cit.* pp. 93-95.

¹⁸ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. PP.70.

¹⁹ T. S. Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Manchester U.P. 1951), pp. 23-37.

the reasons, the coking process was not popularised and charcoal remained the standard fuel at most iron works. For this reason, ironmaking at Low Moor was not carried out on a large scale before 1789. The area was stripped of any forest land and without timber the smelting process was impossible. By 1775, Watt's power driven blowing cylinder in the blast furnace removed that 'impossibility'. Steam was a new source of power for the industry and took it to areas with bountiful supplies of coal. Hence, Low Moor, with little water power, developed automatically as an ideal spot for large scale iron production. It was this which Edward Leedes had visualised; this was his 'great plan'!

Following the American war, the iron industry passed through a recessionary period. High metal prices and a decline in demand caused a general depression throughout the trade. The war had boosted output but its sudden end in 1783 caused an accumulation of products and a fall in the number of buyers. By 1789, when the Low Moor partners founded their company, the industry as a whole was recovering, by seeking new outlets for its products. At the same time, metal prices were slowly finding a more realistic post-war level. Richard Hird and his partners had joined the industry when its fortunes could have gone either way. As it turned out, it was the beginning of the industry's greatest period of growth. The economic climate was unpredictable but the general condition of the industry augured well for the future. Technical improvements provided greater potential each year. The industry was now fed by a fuel of which Bradford possessed great supplies. The transport revolution had been at work in the area for some years.

When sufficient capital had been raised, the partners commenced business. There was no problem in the choice of their new industrial site. The Common at Low Moor was the most convenient and cheapest place. It was upon the lower stretch of this wasteland that the new ironworks developed.²⁰ When the board of the new company first convened, their major problems must have been threefold. Firstly, despite Dawson's scientific knowledge, it was necessary to employ a professional agent and engineer immediately. Through him the company could keep abreast of all technological changes. Secondly, it was essential, whilst expanding the works, to maintain a very high standard of administrative and technical efficiency. Finally, as most of the partners had relinquished their previous trades and professions, it was imperative that they maintain the financial stability of the company. By analysing the methods which they used to overcome these three problems, we shall see the 'lift-off' period of the ironworks.

II

The engineer whom the company hired to install the plant at an annual salary of £150, plus house and coals, was a Mr. Edward Smalley. He was brought from Wigan where he had been employed by several notable industrialists in work on various colliery and engineering projects.²¹ We know little about Smalley's ability and character, except for one reference from James Watt Junior in 1795:

A very intelligent man and engineer . . . he is really a very excellent engineer in the old kind, and a very unreserved and honest man and above a mean action I have every reason to believe.²²

Watt's praise was confirmed by results, for within two years, Smalley had erected the blast engine and furnaces on an area of marshland, Black Syke, south of Wibsey Moor. The engine was designed by Smalley, but constructed on the Boulton and Watt principle.²³ In fact, the atmospheric engine which he installed had at one end an open top cylinder 5 feet in diameter and a single blowing cast iron cylinder of 101 inches diameter at the other end. The stroke in each case was 114 inches. The blowing engine itself was built by a

²⁰ Cudworth, *op. cit.* in n. 8, p. 48.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

²² B(irmingham R(eference) L(ibrary), Boulton and Watt MS. Box 19, B10, 25 Sept., 1795.

²³ *Souvenir Record of Progress of Low Moor Ironworks 1791-1906*, (Bradford, 1906), pp. 23-25.

small local firm, Messrs. Emmetts of Birkenshaw.²⁴ The foundations of the furnaces were being dug whilst the blowing engine was being built.²⁵ This work had begun at Christmas 1789 under Smalley's supervision. The construction of the furnaces was left to a specialist who was to be chosen by Smalley. Naturally he chose a man with whose work he was familiar and at the beginning of 1790 brought Thomas Woodcock from Wigan.²⁶ Woodcock was already engaged in building two similar furnaces at the Haigh Ironworks where the Earl of Balcarres and his brother Robert Lindsay had recently formed a company with James Corbett, a local iron-founder. Fortunately for the Bradford firm, Corbett's management of the Haigh Ironworks, 'had been conducted with great want of economy and that they had cost a much more considerable sum than they ought to have done'.²⁷ Output ceased, workmen left and the works temporarily stopped. Doubtless, Woodcock was relieved to hear of an offer of fresh employment from his friend Edward Smalley.

Woodcock had been born at Chapeltown near Sheffield in 1755 and was reared within the Sheffield iron industry. He was a fully qualified engineer and a recognised specialist in his field. He probably had good cause to move across the Pennines, for his father was employed as foreman moulder at the Birkenshaw works.²⁸ The two furnaces which he put up were stone-built, square and 50 feet high. They were hand fed from a platform level with the furnace top to which the ironstone was brought by baskets or wheeled corves. Woodcock's plan of the furnaces included a casting house and a row of stone kilns for calcining the ironstone. The foundry was probably first opened in 1791. Smalley ordered a modification of Woodcock's plan by installing a moving overhead crane which efficiently carried the heavy castings around the foundry.²⁹ On 13 August 1791 the two blast furnaces which Smalley had erected were blown by Smalley's engine and three days later the Low Moor Iron Company's first casting was made.

Both Smalley and Woodcock were offered permanent contracts and remunerative salaries. Smalley was certainly still with the company in 1803 in the capacity of chief consulting engineer to the works.³⁰ Woodcock has been described as 'architect and general manager to the Company'.³¹ He retained that position (with special responsibility for the furnaces) until his death in 1833. Between them these two men had brought to the company the high degree of technical knowledge which such a new project required. They were responsible for the consolidation of strength which the company attained in its early years. By keeping up with new processes and equipment they made sure that the fixed capital at Low Moor was refreshed and that the technological revolution did not pass by the works.

The fixed capital assets were first recorded in the stock book in October 1795:

By the Casting Houses, Bridge Loft, Boring Mill, Workshops in the Yard & on the Common,
2 Fire Engines, 4 Air Furnaces, Two Cupalas & 8 Cranes all used for carrying on the works in £22,030
their present state.³²

In subsequent years several important additions were made. A new engine, waterhouse and ironstone kilns were added in 1800 at a cost of £8,000. A further £3,000 was spent in the next year on a steam engine and engine house for the new forge. Depreciation in 1802 was not taken into account, as the Company suffered a bad fire.³³ Nevertheless, another £1,000 was invested in a steam engine for the blast furnace. By 1800 the advantages of wrought iron were great, owing to Cort's puddling and rolling process. Smalley, using

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ J. Parker, *Illustrated Rambles from Hipperholme to Tong*, (Bradford, 1904), pp. 36-37.

²⁶ J. Parker, *Historical Sketches of Wibsey, Low Moor etc.*, (Bradford, 1900), pp. 31-32 and Cudworth, *op. cit.* p. 57.

²⁷ John Rylands Library, Manchester. Haigh MSS., Dissolution of Contract, 1791, (uncatalogued MS.).

²⁸ J. W. Banks, 'Progress of Engineering in Bradford', *Journal of the Bradford Engineering Society*, 1925-26, pp. 4-7.

²⁹ *Op. cit.* in n. 23, p. 29.

³⁰ Smalley was an original subscriber to J. Fairbank's 'The Power of Machines', published in 1803. See also J. Parker, *op. cit.* in n. 25, pp. 37-38.

³¹ Cudworth, *op. cit.* in n. 8, pp. 57-58.

³² B.C.L. Miscellaneous MS. C/33. Company Stock Book 1795-1835, 24 Oct., 1795.

³³ *Id.*

charcoal fires, had produced wrought iron and profited from it. However, by 1803 the partners had provided £6,000 for a new forge and rolling mill to accommodate Cort's process.³⁴ The refinery was fired in 1803 and produced the first puddled iron in that year. Refined pig iron was passed to the puddling furnace where it was reheated, stirred and sifted; then sent through rollers. Government armament contracts during the French Wars helped to create surplus capital for such new investments. Cannon and shot required special techniques. Cannon production required a very accurate boring rod but ordinary cast iron cutting tools which the company made themselves were not hard or accurate enough for the job. Consequently, the partners decided to purchase cast steel from the Sheffield and Rotherham area. This worked perfectly!

Whilst dealing with the techniques involved in the processes of iron making, one must not forget the working of the raw materials involved. The company extended the pits of Edward Leedes and added a new one of their own design (value £1,000).³⁵ Leases were made and work began immediately in 1789 in the getting of both kinds of coal and ironstone as well. The partners negotiated contracts directly with individual colliers and tried to avoid group contracting or sub-contracting. These men worked the seams by Bord and Pillar or by the Longwall method. The secret of the top quality iron produced at Low Moor lay in the complementary qualities of the minerals which these men were working. The Better Bed Coal, according to Mr. George in 1836, 'makes an excellent coke which from the absence of sulphur and earthy matter is peculiarly suitable for the making of iron.'³⁶

TABLE 1

ANALYSIS OF COALS³⁷

							Hard (Better) %	Soft %
Fixed Carbon	..	..	..	..	..	..	83.45	84.03
Sulphur	..	..	..	..	..	..	.41	.41
Ash	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.08	1.75
Moisture	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.08	1.72
Hydrogen	..	..	..	..	..	..	5.35	4.98
Oxygen and Nitrogen	..	..	..	..	..	..	7.63	7.11
							100.00	100.00

The coal was completely carbonised into coke, the process taking approximately 48 hours. It was difficult in some areas to obtain 50 per cent weight of coke but these coals produced respectively 66.8 and 69.2 percent.

It was the exceptional purity of the coal which contributed to the quality of the finished product, for the iron ore was of only average quality. South Staffordshire had ores of similar richness and freedom from sulphur. Both veins of ironstone, White and Black, were worked.

TABLE 2

ANALYSIS OF IRONSTONE³⁸

							White %	Black %
Oxide of Iron	..	..	..	..	..	..	36.58	36.75
Oxide of Manganese	..	..	..	..	..	..	.94	1.38
Lime	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.22	2.05
Magnesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	.80	.52
Carbonic Acid	..	..	..	..	..	..	25.41	26.57
Phosphoric Acid	..	..	..	..	..	..	.43	.34
Iron Pyrite	..	..	..	..	..	..	.18	Trace
Moisture	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.85	1.77
Bituminous Matter	..	..	..	..	..	..	.25	2.40

³⁴ T. McHugh, *Iron 1790 to Steel 1969*, Typescript (1969) in the possession of the writer, p. 6. See also *op. cit.* in n. 23, pp. 45-47.

³⁵ B.C.L. Misc. MS. C/33. Stock Book, Oct., 1795.

³⁶ E. George, *On the Yorkshire Coalfield*, (1836), *passim*.

³⁷ *Op. cit.* in n. 23, p. 17.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

For a speedier transportation of these minerals from the pit heads (widespread across the moor), a system of railed roads was built. At first this was a network of wooden rails along which horse drawn trucks were hauled but the partners made necessary modifications to this system by casting their own iron rails and later by developing the network all the way to their coal staith alongside the wharves of the Bradford Canal in the centre of town.³⁹ Technological progress was also felt in the mining process. At most of the company's collieries, the minerals were drawn up by a horse gin. By the end of 1796, the demand for coal and coke from local ironworks necessitated a complete restructuring of the mining system, the most important and progressive part being the erection of a steam whimsey which replaced the slow and outdated 'gin'.

There was nothing extra special in the nature of the ironstone and, although the coal had a very high purity, there was too little of it and the seams were very thin. In effect, the quality and superiority of the Low Moor iron came not only from the minerals but from the methods and techniques of its manufacture. It was the high standard of technical efficiency and knowledge which brought about the successful 'lift-off' of Low Moor Ironworks. Men like Smalley and Woodcock brought to the capital and natural resources, a deep understanding of the new technological principles and converted them into a great edifice of industry.

III

The second problem which faced Dawson, Hardy and Hird in pioneering a new industrial enterprise, was administrative and technical efficiency. This was largely the responsibility of the partners themselves. They could not buy it, as they could the skills of Edward Smalley. The initiative had to come entirely from them. In September, 1794, Richard Hird died and was succeeded in the business by his son-in-law, the Reverend Lamplugh-Wickham who became a sleeping partner. The active partners were John Hardy and Joseph Dawson. The former naturally handled the legal side of the business and by his involvement in national issues did much to promote the reputation of the firm. Part of Pitt's economic reforms of 1797 was a tax on iron. Meetings of the ironfounders were held all over the country to defend themselves against this imposition.⁴⁰ In late October of that year, Joseph Dawson received a letter from James Watt,

Dear Sir,

We have lately seen a letter from a very respectable member of Parliament saying that he "is informed by good authority that Mr. Pitt proposes to lay a tax upon Pig Iron at the furnace and to accompany it with a proportionate addition to the duty upon foreign iron".

The bad consequences of such a tax are obvious as well as those to be proposed on coal. They ought to be opposed and we think that the opinions of those concerned will have more weight if given to Mr. Pitt before he brings the subject before the House, than they will have after. M.P.s should therefore be requested to wait upon Mr. Pitt to know his intention and to use arguments against these taxes.⁴¹

The consequence was a meeting of the West Riding ironfounders at the White Hart Inn, Wakefield on 13 November, 1797. Of the thirteen present, five were from Bradford; Dawson and Hardy of Low Moor, Sturges of Bowling, Aydon of the Shelf Ironworks and Emmott from Birkenshaw. Several resolutions were passed. Hardy and Joshua Walker of Rotherham were requested to go to London as deputies of the meeting. In fact, Dawson also went to the metropolis, although he did not attend the interview with the premier on 22 November, 1797. Williamson, Gibbon and Crawshaw, three leading ironfounders, had tried various arguments to dissuade Pitt,

To each of these particulars Mr. Pitt replied and they answered and it seemed to remain a very doubtful thing on his mind.⁴²

³⁹ I. C. Dodsworth, 'Recent Uses of Horse Plateways in West Yorkshire', *Industrial Archaeology*, 7, (1970), pp. 139-140.

⁴⁰ Ashton, *op. cit.* in n. 19, p. 175.

⁴¹ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. Box 5.16.

⁴² Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. Box 5.16. This includes minutes of the meeting, 13 Nov., 1797 and correspondence from James Watt to Joseph Dawson.

No progress was made and, therefore, Hardy was summoned to London. He attended several ministerial meetings but finally Pitt refused their entreaties and passed the proposal. Hardy, by his contribution to the opposition movement had conveniently 'flown the flag', for the company. Dawson brought about a similar effect but in a different way.

After 1790 Dawson had moved into Royds Hall, Low Moor, and, unlike Hardy, spent much of his time at the works, becoming fully acquainted with the plant and how it functioned. He thought that the meeting of the ironfounders in 1797 had been beneficial to the trade, and, not wishing that the meetings should terminate, was instrumental in the formation of the Friendly Association of Yorkshire Ironfounders at Sheffield in August, 1799.⁴³ At the meeting, which he chaired, Dawson suggested that mutual problems could be discussed along with new techniques and ideas for analysis and research. He did not overpraise the technological revolution.

Individuals have done much in the making and manufacturing of iron in the last sixty years and yet the subject is very far from being exhausted. Perhaps it may be said with truth that we have no complete knowledge of any one operation; and consequently in the whole we may be said in some measure to grope in the dark.⁴⁴

Dawson's proposals were enthusiastically approved. Future meetings were arranged and he was unanimously elected President. In June 1800 he gave the first lecture on the effects of air and moisture on blast furnaces. Other lectures soon followed.

The results of his initiative in the field of technology were the same as Hardy's. He gained the respect and goodwill of his colleagues in the trade and created a reputation for the company as a forward looking and progressive enterprise. Yet his ideas were not all on paper. Technical efficiency was not only given to the company by its salaried officers. Dawson carried out his own experiments at the works (often in consultation with Joseph Priestley). He had noticed in 1792 that in the summer months the furnaces never worked as effectively as they should. Consequently, in 1793, he began to experiment by cooling the air. He increased the air pressure to $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per inch and this meant that the rate of condensation was greater than the rarefaction of air by the sun's heat.

The engine worked well and for 5 or 6 days lifted up the valve. The furnaces ran faster but the metal was not at all improved.⁴⁵

He realised that in summer there was a lack of oxygen in the air, but that this could be supplied by steam. Knowing that the water on the coke would lead to an immediate release of the steam via the furnace top, he added a boiler, hoping that some of it might remain and revive the air within the furnace. This trial was attended with some success.

In addition to his experiments on the scientific side of the business, Dawson was also responsible for the general day to day running of the firm. He had an octagonal office built in 1791 in the very centre of the works, where he could be consulted by his departmental managers. He had a carefully planned workforce, delegating responsibility to each man down to the foreman moulder or collier ganger.

As early as 1795 James Watt Junior, on a visit to Low Moor, could say of the works: 'He (Smalley) showed us through the whole works which are very extensive and systematic. Better forged work I never saw nor better castings.'⁴⁶ Systematic was indeed the right word and it had been achieved essentially by the partners, in particular by Dawson.

The expansion of the works in its first quarter of a century obviously had repercussions on the development of the surrounding area. The terraced cottages of Long Row and Short Row were the first houses to be erected for the new ironworkers. These, costing £4,320, adjoined the works and meant a punctual and reliable workforce. As the company expanded so did its labour force and cottages sprang up all over North Bierley. They were

⁴³ S.C.L. Jackson Collection, MS. 1297. Friendly Association of Ironmasters, Minute Book 1799-1828, and also Ashton, *op. cit.* in n. 19, pp. 178-185 and Appendix D. p. 247.

⁴⁴ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. G.3. 11 Aug., 1799 at Sheffield.

⁴⁵ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. G.3. A lecture given by J. Dawson at Bradford, 11 June, 1800.

⁴⁶ B.R.L. Boulton & Watt MS. Box 19, B10, 25 Sept., 1795.

usually small single storey dwellings with long tall chimney stacks which burnt the coal given to the workers by the firm, e.g. the company built thirteen new houses in Wibsey at a cost of £700.⁴⁷ The once deserted moorland became covered by the houses of the ironworkers. Local landowners sold their lands to builders who erected upon a plot as many houses as they could 'huddled into line or shouldered each other into corners with a delightful contempt of regularity.'⁴⁸ Whole estates disappeared in this way, e.g. Hill Top and Fiddler Hill Farm.

By 1801, North Bierley housed 3,820 persons, an expansion which continued for the next three decades. Many of these people came from other neighbourhoods but some came from as far afield as Cornwall. Life, for this early industrial community, was hard. There were few occasions like Carr Lane Tide which celebrated annually the first casting of 16th August, 1791. There were many accidents,⁴⁹ and conditions were shameful.

'Lads were drafted off to the pits at such tender years that it was no uncommon sight to see mothers (who also worked at the pit bank) carrying young lads of six or seven years old on their backs to work. The hours were then from 7 to 6 o'clock, with an hour's stoppage for dinner, and for this long stretch, day after day, a hurrier received 1/6 or 2/- a week and a man's wages for getting coal were only 15/- for a full week.'⁵⁰

In the mines, there was little thought given to ventilation, drainage or lighting. Nor were there any wheeled corves. In spite of these short-comings, Dawson concerned himself with the welfare of his workers and, in 1794, a boarding house was opened for young collier lads from Hunslet and Leeds. There they received food, clothing and a simple education, all at the company's expense. By 1814 the educational facilities were improved when the Hardy family financed the founding of a new elementary school designed to accommodate over a hundred children and costing £762.⁵¹ Although extended in Victorian times, this school still stands today, serving its original purpose. The shift towards urbanisation at Low Moor had been caused entirely by the expansion and growth of the ironworks.

IV

The final problem which the partners faced in the early years of their enterprise was sustaining the financial stability essential to any firm at this embryonic stage. Having made the initial purchase of the Low Moor estate with its collieries, farms and manor hall, it was necessary for them to supply cash for the construction of an ironworks with its furnaces, engines, workshops and cranes. In the first year of construction the partners respectively advanced the following sums: Hird, £5,000; Jarratt, £4,632; Dawson, £3,355; and Hardy, £3,770. During the next four years £42,049 was provided by these four for the general construction of the ironworks.⁵² Although in operation since August 1791, the works continued to be improved by various specialist machinery. However, in the years 1795-6 little capital was advanced. A further £14,000 was added in 1797 but in the following year nothing was supplied. Almost £6,000 was advanced in 1801, probably used to finance the new puddling and rolling department. After that year no further capital was introduced by the partners into the business, although interest was collected by them on their original capital investments as late as 1804.⁵³

⁴⁷ Stock Book, *op. cit.* in n. 32, p. 155.

⁴⁸ Cudworth, *op. cit.* in n. 8, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁹ *Halifax Courier*, August 1801.

⁵⁰ Cudworth, *op. cit.* in n. 8, p. 49.

⁵¹ Stock Book, *op. cit.* in n. 32, December 1814, and Parker, *op. cit.* in n. 25, p. 16.

⁵² B.C.L. Misc MS. C/33.

⁵³ Ashton, *op. cit.* in n. 19, p. 158. Referring to Coalbrookdale and Thorncliffe, Professor Ashton writes, 'the partners received a fixed interest rate of 5 per cent on their capital and the surplus was then divided into shares . . .'

INTEREST ON CAPITAL⁵⁴

	£		£
1790/93	4,208	1799	7,687
1794	2,586	1800	6,880
1795	3,228	1801	7,216
1796	5,256	1802	8,106
1797	5,267	1803	8,962
1798	5,886	1804	9,899

With the investment of such large sums of money, the balance of the annual capital stock naturally soared. The first balance sheet taken at Low Moor on 24 October, 1795, has been summarised below in modern terms.

TABLE 3

<i>Fixed Assets</i>								£
Casting House, Bridge Loft, Boring Mill Workshops, 2 fire engines, 4 air furnaces, 2 cupolas and 8 cranes								22,030
Repairs and additions since 11.8.94								2,305
								<hr/> 24,335 <hr/>
<i>Current Assets</i>								
Stock in Trade								£20,891
Debtors								£25,586
								<hr/> 46,477 <hr/>
								70,822
<i>Less: Current Liabilities</i>								
Creditors								3,102
								<hr/>
<i>Net Assets</i>								<hr/> £67,720 <hr/>
<i>Representing:—</i>								
<i>Capital Employed</i>								£
Mr. Jarratt, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Hardy								13,108
Mr. Hird								13,181
Mr. Jarratt								13,811
Mr. Dawson								13,810
Mr. Hardy								13,810
								<hr/> £67,720 <hr/>

The stock balance rose meteorically in the next few years, as the following shows,

ANNUAL STOCK BALANCE

	£		£
1796	83,337	1799	148,948
1797	107,031	1800	162,846
1798	118,599	1801	155,737

These figures could not have been sustained unless the company had carried on a good trade. The markets and customers which they used will be examined shortly, but from the demand for all kinds of iron goods came the accumulation of vast profits. Such a thriving state of affairs enabled the partners to withdraw capital from the company as early as 1798, in addition to the interest received on their original investments. The profits of the Low Moor Company, a nascent firm, compare favourably with those of a more established company like that of the Carron Ironworks in Scotland. From 1790 to 1793, £14,258 profit was made before interest on capital which was £4,208 for those three years. This represents a 27·3 per cent return on their capital employed at that time, that is an annual average of 9·1 per cent. This compares well with the Carron Company where the annual profit for 1793 was £25,915 or 9·6 per cent return on their assets.⁵⁵ Figures for subsequent years are tabulated below.

⁵⁴ B.C.L. Misc. MS. C/33, *passim*.

⁵⁵ R. H. Campbell, *Carron Company* (Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 329–333.

TABLE 4
PROFIT AND RETURN OF LOW MOOR CO. 1794/1800

Year Ended	(Carron Company figures in brackets)			Return on	
	Capital Employed		Profit (before	Capital Employed	
	(Book Value)		Interest on Capital)		
	£	£	£	%	%
1794	68,114	11,805	(33,772)	17.3	(14.0)
1795	77,698	9,249	(25,199)	11.9	(9.5)
1796	93,138	15,440	(20,053)	16.6	(7.4)
1797	123,349	16,278	(20,905)	13.2	(8.4)
1798	133,796	15,458	(16,266)	11.5	(6.2)
1799	137,602	18,078	(14,913)	13.2	(5.5)
1800	142,431	15,828	(12,873)	11.2	(4.4)

Thus, trade was flourishing on such a scale that capital assets could be renewed and increased from profits alone. There were no further capital advances after 1801, and in 1798 capital was already being withdrawn for personal use, a trend which continued, for by 1800 a sum of £30,284 had been withdrawn. Such confidence bears testimony to the early consolidation of the company and to the prosperous state of its trading in the first decade.

One important matter contributed to this state of affairs; the Low Moor Company was fortunate that the international situation was in its favour at the time of the company's inception. To most trades, peace was a prerequisite of prosperity. For the iron industry, war was the greatest stimulant to output and production. With the blast furnace at Low Moor in operation for only eighteen months, the wars with France broke out and continued for almost a quarter of a century. The Navy created a consistent demand for armaments and the Low Moor Company were fortunate enough to have captured such a government contract by 1795. Two boring rods were installed and the furnaces were working continuously.

I saw no bored guns except cannon of which they make great quantities for governments. They have two furnaces making about 60 tons of pig per week.⁵⁶

Thus remarked James Watt in September, 1795. This busy state of affairs continued and was consolidated by the rising prices of foreign iron. Britain's clash with Russia caused high import duties on Russian ironstone. For those ironfounders without their own supplies, this raised their costs substantially from £13-15 per ton, in 1795 to £23-26 per ton in 1801. This forced up iron prices on the domestic market, for supply fell short of the growing consumption of iron goods. Business was more than brisk at Low Moor. From the output figures, Dawson and his partners presumably obtained new contracts and clients and found fresh markets. The order books were full and output was at maximum by 1797.

								Tons ⁵⁷
Metals made in 1792 .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,764½
Metals made in 1793 .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,196½
Metals made in 1794 .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,152½
Metals made in 1795 .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,537¾
Metals made in 1796 .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,177½ (+200)
Metals made in 1797 .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,658¾
								13,487½
Annual Average — 2,248 tons								

Bowling Ironworks were experiencing a similar prosperity, although their output tended to be lower. Their combined expansion caused one Bradford worthy to remark in June, 1797, 'that Messrs. Sturges, Dawson & Co. have at this time, near £30,000 due to them from government'.⁵⁸ With revenue on this scale there can be little reason to doubt the

⁵⁶ B.R.L. Boulton & Watt MS. Box 19, B10.
⁵⁷ Hailstone Collection. Box 5.16. Joseph Dawson's Accounts.
⁵⁸ Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection. G3. A statement made by Rev. Edward Baldwyn.

tremendous increase in the profits made by the firm; they leaped from £9,249 in 1795 to £26,408 six years later; 1801 being a year when almost £6,000 was added to the fixed capital employed in the business. Thus, business was more than fair!

Much of the work came from government armament contracts but the domestic demand remained high. By 1799, Low Moor produced a greater diversity of goods than ever before.⁵⁹ High on the list were cylinders of several sizes and various other requisites for steam engines. The construction of such parts brought the company unwittingly to an infringement of Boulton & Watt's patent rights. In 1795 George Hawks of Gateshead placed a rush order with the firm for a cylinder and air pump. They promised to complete the order, since they were already making one for Matthew Murray of Leeds, who, they understood, had the rights. James Watt, Junior heard of this violation and interviewed Smalley about the matter. The latter's plea of ignorance convinced Watt that the company were not purposely breaking the patent (as were Bowling Ironworks). He left the works on good terms but not before Smalley had tried to get some business from him!⁶⁰

In addition to steam engine parts, a new line of metal goods for the newly industrialised textile trade was brought out. A popular item on the company's price list was the rail for iron waggon roads which cost 74s. per cwt. This list reflects the growth and expansion of the company in its first decade. Another indication of this growth was the erection of an automatic ironstone feeder. Previously the minerals had been fed into the furnace by hand but, if output was to be kept at maximum, operations of this kind had to be automated in order to save time. A water wheel was built which drove a chain pulley to haul the tubs of ironstone to the top of the furnace where they were tilted, reverted by a disconnected clutch and then returned to the bottom to be filled again.⁶¹ Consequently the Low Moor Ironworks had consolidated its position as one of the principal iron producing centres in the North in its first decade. One must not over estimate the achievement of the company nor forget the existence of others. A comparative table taken from an enquiry of 1796 may keep things in perspective.

<i>Firm</i>			<i>No. Furnaces</i>	<i>Excise (tons)</i>	<i>Supposed (tons)</i>	<i>Exact⁶² (tons)</i>
Coalbrookdale	..	..	3	7,175	4,162	2,659½
Cyfartha	..	..	3	6,000	6,000	7,204
Carron	..	..	4	5,200	5,206	5,616
Low Moor	..	..	2	2,000	2,000	1,500

Nevertheless, the expansion caused by the war was used to its fullest advantage by the company. In so doing the proprietors had continued to overcome the original difficulties which faced the nascent firm. The skills of its employees, the efficiency of its owners and a wise financial policy, all laid the foundations for the stimulus to growth which the Napoleonic Wars brought.

The Low Moor company went on to expand its production and confirm its reputation in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Yet like most other firms it was affected by the slump in the iron trade in the 1820's.⁶³ The Crimean War and Britain's increasing imperial role assured the company of prosperity and growth in the mid-Victorian era. Low Moor was producing some of the country's finest wrought iron in the 1860's.

⁵⁹ Wakefield District Archives, Goodchild Loan MSS., Barnsley Coal Company MSS., Draft minutes, including price list of goods produced at Low Moor, Nov., 1799.

⁶⁰ B.R.L. Boulton & Watt MS. Box 19, B10, and H. W. Dickinson and R. Jenkins, *James Watt and The Steam Engine* (1927), pp. 320-321.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.* in n. 23, p. 29.

⁶² Y.M.L. Hailstone Collection, Box 6.12. Furnace Returns in England, Scotland and Wales, 1796.

⁶³ Firth, *op. cit.* in n. 2.

By 1890 the local mineral deposits were no longer sufficient and the company were buying ironstone from elsewhere. Capital was not reinvested into new furnaces or mining methods and competition from Sheffield's mild steel affected their sales. It became a limited company in 1888 and a wholesale programme of modernisation was commenced shortly afterwards. The First World War increased productivity with its demand for armaments, but the future of wrought iron looked gloomy. In 1919 the firm was amalgamated with Robert Heath & Sons of Staffordshire and henceforth was known as Robert Heath and Low Moor Ltd.⁶⁴ Ten years later the company was purchased from the Receiver by Thos. W. Ward Ltd. The production of wrought iron at Low Moor finally ceased in 1957.

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⁶⁴ C. Dodsworth, 'The Low Moor Ironworks, Bradford', *Industrial Archaeology*, 8 (1971), pp. 154-5.

OBITUARY

MR. THOMAS DAVID MALLINSON, O.B.E.

Hon. Treasurer, 1972—1977

All those who knew Mr. Mallinson were deeply shocked and saddened to hear of his sudden death on 28 March 1977. The President, several Vice-Presidents, the Hon. Secretary and a number of other officers and members of the Council, as well as numerous ordinary members of the Society, attended the funeral service in St. Giles' Church, Bramhope; their presence symbolised, however inadequately, the high regard in which the Hon. Treasurer was held in the Society at large, and at Claremont in particular. His death occurred only a few days after committee and Council meetings at which he had been on his usual good form: prudent and precise in his official pronouncements, cheerful and amusing in his conversation during the informal snack luncheon. By his passing the Society has lost a splendid servant.

Tom Mallinson was born in Bramhope in 1910 and attended Prince Henry's Grammar School, Otley. Subsequently he embarked on a career in business, and from 1940 to 1966 he worked in Africa, first in Nigeria, then in The Gambia, where he became general manager of the United Africa Company Ltd. During his years in The Gambia he served in the House of Representatives as chairman of the public finances committee, and he also acted as chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. At home he had played a keen game of Rugby, but in Africa his athletic interests found expression in tennis and sailing; he was also much involved in church work and especially in the running of a youth club. In recognition of his public work he was awarded the O.B.E. in the New Year honours list of 1964.

Two years later, when ill health brought about his retirement, Tom Mallinson returned to Bramhope where, at his pleasant house overlooking Wharfedale, he worked enthusiastically and skilfully in his garden, which is surely one of the finest in the neighbourhood. At the same time he resumed his church work, showing himself to be a highly efficient organiser of the parish dinner and a wise influence in the church council (a meeting of which he attended in the evening before his death).

Moreover, on returning to Bramhope Mr. Mallinson began a serious study of the archaeology and history of his own part of Wharfedale. He was an active member of adult classes and study groups, collecting material on the antiquities, manors and farming history of the district. When, therefore, he offered to succeed Mr. J. H. Ogden as the Society's Hon. Treasurer he brought to the task not only his long experience of finance, commerce and public work but also a keen interest in the study of the county's past and a deep sympathy with the Society's aims.

Tom Mallinson was a first-class Treasurer. As chairman of the Society's appeal committee he played a notable part in raising a sum sufficient to pay off debts incurred in the move to Claremont and to meet the cost of various improvements at our headquarters as well. Although his tenure of office coincided with rampant inflation he was able by shrewd management to keep the Y.A.S. financially stable. At the time of his death our financial position was healthier than we had dared to hope, and for that we have Tom Mallinson to thank.

In all his work for the Society Tom was a cautious steward. A man of shining integrity, he never shrank from an unpopular recommendation which he believed to be essential to the Society's well-being, and as Treasurer he could hold his corner with a quiet and determined, yet always modest and civilised, pertinacity. In his work for us he was careful, thorough

and thoughtful. If he could recognise a possible economy at some distance, he could also quickly discern a chance of improving our income overall. He always maintained a beneficially watchful eye on the management of our headquarters, and his advice to the Council was invariably fair, cool and sound. As a colleague, moreover, he was habitually cheerful, amusing and friendly.

The Council, at the meeting before the A.G.M., expressed deep sympathy with Mrs. Mallinson, her daughter and two sons on their sad loss. At the same time we paid warm tribute to Tom Mallinson's work for the Society and recalled with pleasure our memories of his presence amongst us.

GORDON C. F. FORSTER
President.

MR. GEORGE FRANCIS WILLMOT, F.S.A.

Although he was never an office holder George Willmot was an assiduous Council member of the Society from 1953 to 1970, serving also on the House and Finance Committee. Basically a very shy and kindly man, he was also a firm fighter for what he believed to be right or correct, however unpopular or awkward it might be. His advice was usually sound and served the Society well.

His introduction to Yorkshire archaeology dates from before the war, when he was a schoolmaster at Ampleforth College and dug sites in that area under the equivalent of the present job creation scheme. After war service, service in Germany with the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Branch of the Allied Control Commission, and the post-war reorganisation of the Jersey Museum, he came back to Yorkshire in 1950 as Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum and held that post until his retirement through ill health in 1970. His great contribution in that position was the work which he put into the negotiations which led to the transfer of the museum in 1961 from the ownership and control of a private society to that of the York City Council. He fought hard for the rights of the museum staff under the reorganisation and it was characteristic of the man that he put their interests before his own. His new Roman gallery opened by the late Sir Ian Richmond, although now dated in style, was a great improvement on anything that the museum had seen before. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1951 and was a council member of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society.

It is unfortunate that he never saw the publication of his great work on Beakers, nor indeed of more than interim reports of his small but crucial excavations on the Roman fortress and on St. Mary's Abbey at York. He had a dry sense of humour that was no respecter of persons and he made enemies, but his kindnesses and the trouble which he took on behalf of many people previously unknown to him are well remembered.

BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

P. V. ADDYMAN and R. MORRIS (Ed.), *The Archaeological study of Churches*, C.B.A. Research Report 13, London: Council for British Archaeology 1976, pp. vii + 79 illus., £4.50.

Although published as a Research Report, this book is in fact a collection of essays of varied weight, quality, and purpose, reflecting different approaches and attitudes and directed at different audiences. It lacks a basic unity, does not pretend to comprehensiveness and is thus a very difficult work to review. During the present decade our heritage of ecclesiastical buildings has been eroded at almost the same speed as during the great period of restoration in the nineteenth century. Paradoxically destruction, as it did then, offers opportunities for study both of the fabric above ground and of the evidence of earlier structures below ground. We are far better equipped technically to meet the opportunity today than we were in the nineteenth century, but lack the moral support that was available in the intellectual climate of that period. The main purpose of this book is to direct attention to the problem. It shows how it has been met in individual cases, it suggests techniques and approaches, and although the balance of the essays tends to emphasise the importance of excavation at the expense of other methods, and to concentrate on the earliest material at the expense of later medieval periods, the architectural historian is not ignored.

Dr. Harold Taylor's essay on 'The Foundations of Architectural History' is probably the best in the book, closely followed by Martin Biddle's final essay, which does something to set the archaeological study of churches into a wider historical horizon but suffers again from a concentration on problems of origin and beginnings. The truth is that the church is very much a part of the community that set it up and a history of its fabric reflects very closely the fortunes and varying wealth of that community. At Wharham Percy the excavation of the church is part of the complete study of the village and its territory. This is very much as it should be. A useful summary is given of the results of the excavation of that church, by J. G. Hurst, and there are two other case histories of Jarrow (R. Cramp) and of Upleatham (S. Knight), but only the rather sketchy account by P. Rahtz of the principles underlying the research at Deerhurst really emphasises the need for setting the study of the church's fabric into the general study of the community.

Derek Phillips' article is perhaps the first to which the Yorkshire reader will turn, probably to be disappointed that it offers only a plan of the York Minster excavation and not, as at the other Yorkshire sites of Upleatham and Wharham Percy, a case history. It is concerned with a detailed application of techniques which, interesting as it is, would have found a better place in a text book of archaeological method which this book of essays certainly is not. He advocates in detail the use of 9 by 12 cm film with a monorail camera and, in planning, the indirect use of a Cartesian co-ordinate system, with a footnote replete with mathematical formulae and diagrams.

This emphasises the main criticism of the book, that it lacks editorial direction and varies between extreme detail and vague generalities. In spite of this it is a useful, and at times a stimulating book, worth buying and, as books go nowadays, not enormously expensive. Its top-heavy format is unfortunately that of most present C.B.A. publications and is unnecessary. All the plates and drawings could have been adequately accommodated in the more convenient size used by the C.B.A. for the York Archaeological Trust series.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, York

H. G. RAMM

J. A. R. and M. E. BICKFORD, *The Private Lunatic Asylums of the East Riding* the East Riding Local History Society; 1976 pp. 58; £1.15 (reduced price to members £1.05).

Yorkshire has many claims to fame and amongst them is its importance in the history of the practice of lunacy.

Dr. J. A. R. Bickford is the Physician Superintendent of De La Pole Hospital, and his name is synonymous with considerable advances in the care of the long-stay mental hospital patient. He has always remembered what he himself once termed the forgotten patients. He and his wife have now remembered not only the forgotten patients but also the forgotten hospitals, the subject of this booklet. They review the history of fourteen private lunatic asylums which operated in the East Riding from 1814 until about 1880; but the wealth of detailed information which this booklet contains is of interest well beyond the geographical or historical boundaries of the East Riding.

It was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that the problem of the mentally ill first began to dawn on the public conscience. The introduction to this booklet refers to the opening in York in 1777 of the York Lunatic Asylum which was built, as an advertisement in the York Courant of 28th August, 1772 makes clear, because the founding fathers were 'sensible of the deplorable situation of many poor lunatics in this extensive county, who have no other support but what a needy parent can bestow, or a thrifty parish officer provide'. They went on to recommend a public edifice 'for the reception of such unhappy people'.

Unfortunately, as the Bickfords observe, the promise of the public mental hospital was not always borne out in practice. Indeed because of the abuses at the York Asylum, William Tuke founded The Retreat in York. The influence of this hospital and its emphasis on the moral, that is to say the kindly and humane treatment of mental illness, influenced ultimately not only the world but also and much more immediately the East Riding of Yorkshire as this present publication makes clear. Of the fourteen hospitals described by the Bickfords, few termed themselves

asylums. Most of them had such names as Refuge or Retreat, the latter of which indicates the source of their inspiration; but, as the Bickfords observe, at least one such hospital, that of Mr. Casson at Anlaby, perhaps indicates the first groping for a medicinal as opposed to a moral cure.

It is in the course of human nature that some of these hospitals were imperfect in their design and disappointing in their administration and, curiously enough, sometimes quite inept financially; and yet, as the Bickfords point out, 'the majority of patients enjoyed a degree of freedom not to be found in public psychiatric hospitals till another 100 years had passed'. This booklet, therefore, is in many ways a reappraisal of those private asylums which suffered from an undeserved reputation.

Other interesting facts emerge from the booklet. It is accepted that the lot of mentally ill people has in general been an unhappy one, relieved only by the exertions of particular individuals, and one such outstanding individual who first worked in the world of mental illness in Hull was Dr., later Sir William, Ellis who went from Sculcoates Refuge firstly as Medical Superintendent to Wakefield and latterly to Hanwell Asylum where his even more distinguished successor, Dr. John Conolly, was by a curious coincidence also of Hull origins.

The Sculcoates Refuge became in fact the Hull Borough Asylum, and it is now De La Pole Hospital, Willerby from which hospital the Bickfords write. It remains only to hope that it may be possible for the Bickfords to complete and publish the latter history of De La Pole Hospital which has done so much to redeem the reputation of the public mental hospitals.

York

ARTHUR BOWEN

RAYMOND H. HAYES and JOSEPH HURST, *The History of Hutton le Hole*, published privately, n.d. (*recte* 1976), pp. 64, illus., 40p.

The village of Hutton le Hole now has a prominent public image as a tourist resort, largely as a result of the Folk Museum with which both the present authors are connected, and this makes it inevitable that a history or historical guide-book would sooner or later be written; it is very fortunate, therefore, that two of its citizens are capable of undertaking this and have found time to do it. It is no easy matter to write the history of one village, and this attempt comes well out of the test. There is the problem in the opening chapters of making a narrative out of the random finds of archaeology, eked out with place-names: this has been well handled with the right amount of reference to national events and trends, adequate explanation of the sometimes peculiar artefacts our ancestors left behind them, proper regard for structures and boundaries and a reasonable number of references. The result is neither incomprehensible to the layman nor too simplified for the specialist. Next comes the central section from Domesday to the 19th century, based on such apparently dull sources as tax lists, manor rolls and extents, *inquisitiones* and so on but not neglecting material finds. The success of this mixture is shown in the interesting passage on glassworkers, based chiefly on the chance discovery of two furnaces in 1966. All in all, this section gives a far clearer and more convincing picture of life in the village than is often achieved. It is followed by sections on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which round off the History; but this is not yet half of the book. There remain a long section (11 pages) on houses, a miscellany called 'Other Village Buildings and Amenities' and then, unexpectedly, sections on three other villages: Spaunton, the manor, and Lasingham, the parish in which Hutton lies, and Appleton le Moors. The book is completed by ten pages of appendixes, chiefly transcripts of documents or excavation reports.

The book is full of very valuable material, well-digested and interestingly set out. It is not without faults, chief of which are the absence of a map and an index. With a map to show *all* the place-names mentioned in the text (there is a plan of the centre of the village) the book would be more useful to non-natives; with an index it would be possible for students to consult it easily. Integration of appendixes 5 and 8 with the text would add to the story without impeding its flow. But it is too easy to find fault, and these criticisms must not obscure the high quality of the work which is of sound scholarship clearly expressed, and far above the average village history.

York

BARBARA HUTTON

D. T. JENKINS, *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry 1770-1835. A Study of Fixed Capital Formation*, pp. xvi and 336. Pasold Research Fund, Edington, Wiltshire, 1975, £7.50.

Students of the textile industry in Yorkshire, including local historians working on the industrial development of their town or region, have long been hampered by the absence of comprehensive modern accounts of the main branches of the industry. Herbert Heaton's *Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries . . . up to the Industrial Revolution*, most of which was written before 1914, is still the standard work on the period it covers. Although the works of Crump, Ghorbal and Sigsworth cover parts of the industrial revolution in woollens and worsteds, the accounts written in the 1850s by John James and Edward Baines junior have remained essential sources.

Against this background Dr. Jenkins's book is greatly to be welcomed. It contains lucid and informative chapters dealing with the transition from the domestic to the factory system; the size, design and materials of the early mills; the uses of water and steam power; the development of production machinery; the valuation of fixed capital stock; and the sources of finance for mills and their contents. One of the main problems for the historian of the factory system is the fragmentary nature of the records. There are few long runs of business records, and in their absence painstaking detective work with sources of varying quality is needed. In recent years a group of scholars, including Dr. Jenkins, has pioneered the use of insurance valuations, particularly the enormous collections of the Sun and Royal Exchange Companies in the Guildhall Library, London, which have proved to be a valuable new source.

Dr. Jenkins has combined the extensive use of insurance valuations with a careful analysis of parliamentary papers and local archives to produce a list of some 250 woollen and worsted mills established in Yorkshire before 1800 (81 of which made some use of steam power) with a further 450 first recorded between 1801 and 1835. His main purpose in so doing is to calculate the growth of fixed capital by using the insurance data. He multiplies the number of additional mills recorded in a particular year by the average valuation of a sample of mills in the decade concerned. This might seem to be a crude method, ignoring as it does both closures and extensions, but the author argues that 'the calculated estimates of net fixed capital formation correspond on the whole very closely to other indications of the performance of the industry'. (p. 182). The main weakness of the approach is that the 'earliest date recorded' of a mill is often not the date of its establishment. Dr. Jenkins warns the reader of this, but there are other deficiencies in the information which are not always apparent. For example, Regulator Mill at Sowerby Bridge is listed as a worsted mill from 1833, but the worsted spinners were occupying only part of the mill, which had been built for steam-powered corn milling in 1801-2. Crossleys of Hebden Bridge had a cotton mill and a worsted mill, one of which was started in 1819 and the other in 1824. The first date has been assigned to the worsted mill, although there is a slight balance of probability the other way.

As Dr. Jenkins points out, the deeds registered at Wakefield (now in the West Yorkshire County Record Office) offer a complementary source to the insurance policies. Deeds, which record mortgages and partnership agreements as well as sales and leases, have already proved very valuable in some regional studies and by allowing greater precision of dating would improve the quality of analyses of fixed capital formation. As a good deal of land in the West Yorkshire Industrial area was copyhold, surviving court rolls, such as those of the Manor of Wakefield, can provide a similar service. Any further work will, however, be built on the solid foundation laid in Dr. Jenkins's valuable book.

University of Hull

B. JENNINGS

SIDNEY POLLARD and COLIN HOLMES (Ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire*, Sheffield: South Yorkshire County Council, 1976, pp. 308, £2.50.

This volume, containing 15 essays by 18 contributors and an introduction by Professor Sidney Pollard, is extremely good value for money. It is divided into four parts, 'Economic Conditions and Employment', 'Politics, the Radical Tradition', 'Social Conditions: Housing' and 'Religion and Culture'. All of the essays are good, and some are very good. Many of them, understandably, because of limitations of space, attempt too wide a span and are marred by a breathlessness reminiscent of a Cook's Tour. The last contribution, which seemed to lurch towards qualifying for an entry in *'Private Eye's'* 'ongoing situations' column at one stage ('Middle Class Values and Working Class Culture in Nineteenth Century Sheffield—The Pursuit of Respectability' by Caroline Reid) is the most notable in this respect.

Much of the book is concerned with working class history. In section one, three out of the five essays are in this category. Paul Nunn writes on employer: employee relationships in the Fitzwilliam collieries using Wentworth Woodhouse papers as his major source material, and N. P. Howard contributes a study of the rise of trade unionism in the South Yorkshire iron and steel industry before 1914. James Macfarlane, however, writes the best of the essays in this section in a study of 'The Denaby Main Lock-Out of 1885'. Mr. Macfarlane's work is based largely on newspaper reports from, among others, the *Mexborough and Swinton Times*, the *Barnsley Chronicle*, and the *Doncaster Gazette* supplemented by material from the Public Record Office and the Yorkshire Miners' Association records. His story of violence and defeat (for the unionists) is told well.

Part Two of the volume contains perhaps the most interesting, if not the best written, essays. The first (on 'Sheffield and the Revolutionary Tradition, 1791-1820') by two authors sets out to prove the existence of 'a secret revolutionary movement in England during the early Industrial Revolution' in their area (and incidentally to disprove the contentions of historians like J. D. Chambers and R. M. Hartwell). Do they succeed? The answer is that they do. Government repression began in late 1793 (before there had been a strong radical society in the town). Two years later there was a Sheffield 'Peterloo' but this did not destroy radicalism there. The authors quote John Thelwall and other sources to show that a 'secret organisation committed to obtaining political change by revolutionary means' remained in existence and came to the authorities' notice in 1800. In the following year there was an increase in activity which reached a peak in 1802, when local leaders were arrested, tried and found guilty. Messrs. Donnelly and Baxter have organised their material well (though they give scant attention to the period 1802 to 1812) and tell their story of *agents provocateurs*, inflammatory statements and handbills well; but it would have been improved by an assessment from them (if such is possible) about just how strong the secret 'movement' was, just how much actually was prompted by informers and how much of the rhetoric and posturing was for real. Of course they say that evidence from spies and informers, their major source, 'must be regarded with caution', as it must, but how strong was the secret organisation or organizations? Donnelly and Baxter print their statements as if they were all to be believed (despite their aforementioned warning). It would have been strange had there *not* been a 'secret revolutionary underground of some kind in the years of repression; but how large and serious was it? We have evidence of a meeting taking place against the orders of the magistrates, at which there were '1,000—2,000 persons present', but how many of these shared the views the leaders expressed to Captain Warris of the Sheffield Volunteers who, if he spoke the truth was told of plans to assassinate Pitt. Donnelly and Baxter have proved that there was secret plotting; perhaps the strength and the real threat of those men of the underground of those years is what will remain 'unprovable'. For the later period, the era of 'Oliver the Spy', the Sheffield story is a more familiar one, and the authors prove there were links then with the men of Despard's day.

Other articles in part two contain accounts of anarchism in Sheffield in the 1890's, working class radicalism in

Barnsley 1816—1820 and early Chartism in Sheffield. This last contribution contains much about the activity of Samuel Holberry, the Chartist martyr who died in York Castle. Among the remaining essays is one by Ian Inkster on itinerant science lecturers in Sheffield in the first half of the nineteenth century, which deals with an important aspect of the early history of science teaching, and manages to make educational history other than the drab, dead, subject if often appears (there are marvellous exceptions, notably the work of Professor J. F. C. Harrison).

Essays in the Economics and Social History of South Yorkshire is fine value for money. It is also a monument to the great work of E. P. Thompson. Many of the subjects studied owe their inspiration either to *The Making of the English Working Class* or some of the critiques of it.

York Educational Settlement

A. J. PEACOCK

GEORGE REDMONDS, *Surnames around Huddersfield*, Huddersfield: Regent Printers Ltd., n.d. but c. 1975, pp. 56, no price.

M. H. SMITH, *Parish Registers and Population in South Holderness*, Hedon Local History Series, vol. 3, available from J. Markham, 24 Wylies Road, Beverley, pp. 28, 50p (by post 60p).

Surnames around Huddersfield is an interesting collection of short essays on surnames in the Huddersfield area written as newspaper articles by Dr. George Redmonds. Their value must be in that they contain his views on the origin and development of each surname (24 in all). As a basis for future work their value is less certain; Dr. Redmonds has written with considerable restrictions as to space and omits a great deal of the detailed argument and references that one would like. The absence of the latter is an irritation, but it must be remembered that the articles were written for a casual, not a professional, audience. That said, it is to be hoped that the series of articles on Bradford surnames currently appearing (July 1977) in the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* will also be collected and published in a more permanent form. A further irritation is the apparently random arrangement of the chapters.

Mr. Smith and the Hedon and District Local History Society are to be congratulated on producing an excellent booklet. Mr. Smith has analysed the registers of three parishes, Keyingham, Patrington and Winestead, and first considers his conclusions thematically, for instance the incidence of illegitimacy, the date of marriages and the age at marriage, and then takes points from each register separately. The book therefore fails to form a coherent whole, but this does not detract from the fact that it is very interesting and should serve as a model for future work. In this respect the booklet is particularly illuminating in that it includes a great deal of information on Mr. Smith's methods.

One would like to know more about many of the points raised by Mr. Smith. Much more could have been said about the effect of enclosure on the community; through Smith's failure to use the unprinted Patrington registers we are told nothing about the town after 1731. In the case of Keyingham we are told a great deal about the consequences of enclosure on the population, but even here we have loose ends which could have been followed up and tied. To have worked up to a terminal date could have enabled better comparisons to have been made between parishes. A further unsatisfactory aspect of the work is that its almost exclusive source is the parish registers of the three parishes. We are therefore left with statements with regard to enclosures as that on p. 23: 'But the evidence of the parish registers is that land began to pass out of the hands of the smallholders, probably into the hands of outsiders, in the middle of the eighteenth century'. To what extent was this so, and who were these outsiders? Were they Hull merchants or the established gentry? To have followed this would doubtless have taken Mr. Smith outside the terms of reference contained in his title. At the same time it must be remembered that demography can only be a tool of use if it is continuously related to non-demographic trends, which cannot be supplied by the parish registers alone.

The booklet is a useful addition to our knowledge of both the historical demography and the local history of Holderness. The two complaints must be that it fails to make adequate use of secondary sources and does not use those portions of the registers that remain unpublished. It is to be hoped that Mr. Smith will consider this publication to be only interim, will continue his work, and will publish an expanded edition before too long.

Keighley

RICHARD HOYLE

PETER ROEBUCK (ed.) *Constable of Everingham estate correspondence 1726-42*; Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser. cxxxvi, 1976.

This is history literally at the grass-roots, 'providing a sharp focus on contemporary events and attitudes', as the editor in his excellent introduction remarks. The volume contains rather more than two-thirds of the surviving dual correspondence between Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham (the fourth baronet) and Dom John Bede Potts, O.S.B. (from 1717 chaplain to Sir Marmaduke and to his entirely Catholic household); the rest of the family papers, now deposited with the University of Hull, have been extensively used for explanation and interpretation.

The situation that produced this extended correspondence was extraordinary. From 1705, when he took over the estate, until 1730, Sir Marmaduke (born in 1682) had been personally responsible for restoring the family fortunes squandered and mismanaged by his father. He had preferred to achieve this by developing his estate rather than by marrying an heiress. The security of investment in land was 'unparalleled'. 'Does my Lord (Langdale) want money that he would sell Land?' asks Constable incredulously in 1740.

In 1730, having been treated ineffectively at Bath for a leg injury sustained in a hunting accident, Sir Marmaduke

decided to visit health resorts on the Continent, leaving in charge of his estate a middle-aged monk, bred in a small village in Northumberland, whose previous experience of estate management had apparently been confined to serving the office of cellarer at the English Benedictine abbey of Lambspring in Westphalia. Having once 'run away', as before long Dom Bede Potts himself was threatening to do, Sir Marmaduke could not bring himself to return to a way of life so restricted as that revealed here and there by cautious phrases in the correspondence, the ghetto-like atmosphere of an East Riding Catholic estate, in which the possession of a wife 'of a different persuasion' disqualified a man from appointment as steward.

Potts, with this responsibility thrust upon him willy-nilly, made not only frequent reports on current happenings, work done and rents received, but increasingly desperate applications to his master for advice on details, of tree-planting, horse-breeding, deer control, property maintenance, the sub-letting of tithes, legal disputes, staff discipline, liaison with the stewards of the Lincolnshire portion of the estate and of the manorial court, and most of all, on his relationship with the tenants, who got increasingly out of hand as the years went by and as Sir Marmaduke, though continually intending to return, did not do so. (By 1740 wagers were being laid for and against the likelihood. In fact it was the death of Potts in 1743 that brought his master home, only to be imprisoned in York Castle during the 1745 Rebellion).

To Potts's frequently pathetic letters, Constable replied—not often, but when several letters had caught up with him on his travels—with unfailing kindness and confidence, sensibly and pithily dealing with major problems, and revealing those gifts of initiative and imagination that had enabled him to restore the estate as an economic unit. He has the strong sense of responsibility of the good landowner: 'I desire my quick fencing to be considered with all thy Skill, and knowledge you can muster up amongst friends and Neighbours, that I may not leave to posterity a Lordship so ill inclosed, with a wood just at hand purchased with designe to have inclosed the same with strong, and sufficient quick hedges.' (Letter 71).

To the non-specialist, the personalities and situations of these two men—the priest in the guise of estate agent, 'an undertaking above my capacity; and suppose I could it is not at all proper I should', and the landowner, preserving after twelve years' absence a photographic memory for every inch of his land, the circumstances of his tenants' lives, the nature and whereabouts of the estate documents and maps, form a fascinating contrast. One can only regret the circumstances leading to the waste of so much natural talent and training, from the owner prevented, by his religion from playing any larger part in his country's affairs, to the priest dining in the kitchen and groaning '*Omne regnum in (seipsum) divisum desolabitur*', over such problems as the rival claims of the horses and the deer to the winter shelter of the Park! (Letter 79). Students of recusant history, however, must be warned that the material omitted from this edition of the well-known Letter Books of Dom Bede Potts includes a certain amount of detail of interest to them.

One criticism must be made: the Glossary, though not extensive, is peculiar, including standard words such as 'encomium', 'Mayday', 'Michaelmas', 'purging' (!), and 'valances', yet omitting 'inoculate' (Letter 28), 'skined' (65), 'sweep' (87), 'timner' (89), 'dominium' (95), and 'Abill' (108). A certain number of errors in transcription are suspected; one must be corrected. In Letter 92 Constable is made to write, 'As Robert is married he may plant himselfe in the Dairy end of my house, more convenient I think for him, than Wrights house to keep an *Jane*.' This word is defined in the glossary as 'Short for Jane-of-apes, female counterpart of Jackanapes'. But Potts had already reported his supposition that the couple intended to keep an inn (Letter 90). 'An *Inne*' is undoubtedly the correct reading.

York

KATHARINE M. LONGLEY.

J. RUSHTON, *The Ryedale Story*, Malton: Ryedale District Council, 1976, pp. 146, illus., £1.

The book's incorporation of a wide range of information relating to Ryedale, past and present, seems designed to appeal both to tourists and to the area's inhabitants. Modern Ryedale, is first discussed with its industries, agriculture, amenities, services and local government etc. There follows a very general account of the district's history, whilst the greater part is devoted to a more specific description of the four market towns and of their neighbouring villages.

As a means of increasing the layman's awareness of Ryedale's past, this, by and large, well produced book will undoubtedly be successful, but its uncritical and purely factual nature ensure that more serious pretensions are lacking. A chronological hotchpotch of events, folklore and general observations relating to architecture, archaeology, genealogy and history confronts the more discerning reader, and the absence of references to the source of material for interesting snippets of information renders an immediate assessment of their veracity and any follow-up extremely difficult. This is a pity, since many sources have obviously been consulted.

Yorkshire Museum, York

J. F. ROBINSON

A. TAYLOR and others, *Roman Malton and the Malton Museum*, York: the Malton Museum 1976, p. 12, illus., 10p.

The reorganisation and resurgence of the Roman Malton Museum is one of the most felicitous happenings in Yorkshire museum and archaeological circles during the last decade. Every credit is due to the new Board of Management, the local authorities and the Friends of the Malton Museum who have made this possible. Both the Museum and the archaeological finds from Malton and district have long been known to be of outstanding importance. Now their future and conservation are assured.

It is not always realised that, after Vindolanda near Hadrian's Wall (and possibly Housesteads on the Wall) Malton has produced more evidence of life in a Roman *vicus* than any other site in Britain.

The newly published *Roman Malton and the Malton Museum* gives an admirable account—at a very reasonable cost!—of the history of the Museum since its beginning forty years ago and of the major excavations and discoveries made there. It explains simply and succinctly the military history of the site (associated with the fort) and of the social and commercial life of the place (associated with the *vicus*). Further, it supplies a useful list of the published accounts of excavations etc., there available to students who wish to research more deeply into the history of the site. Some simple but revealing plans and drawings are calculated to whet the readers appetite for further investigation.

York

L. P. WENHAM

M. G. A. VALE, *Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire gentry, 1370-1480*, York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Borthwick Papers no 50, 1976, pp. 32, 60p.

Dr. Vale's booklet, based upon a lecture given to the York branch of the Historical Association, looks at aspects of the piety and charity, and to a much smaller extent, literacy, of Yorkshire gentry, gleaned from study of a sample of their registered wills. Dr. Vale defines his gentry as 'those styled knight or esquire', 'distinguished from other landowning men by the holding of office and the bearing of coats of arms'; their womenfolk are included in the survey. This study is welcome because it investigates the situation at a lower social level than that treated in J. T. Rosenthal's *The Purchase of Paradise*.

Dr. Vale stresses the need for caution in interpreting wills. A pious preamble may not be the testator's own work; eccentric phraseology may not mean deliberate departure from orthodoxy. Inconsistencies within a will can result in conventionally orthodox provisions appearing alongside features often associated with Lollard sympathies.

It is clear from Dr. Vale's examination of their wills that the pious and charitable acts of the Yorkshire gentry were played out mainly on a very local stage. Their wills also show, by the greater explicitness of instructions concerning church services, dedications to specific saints, and greater discrimination in the choice of celebrants and ecclesiastical beneficiaries, that the gentry's understanding of theological doctrine and the realities of church administration increased over the period, especially in the fifteenth century. The lay recipients of charity also tended to be more selectively chosen by the later fifteenth century.

Only twenty-four of the 148 wills used as a basis for analysis bequeathed books, and secular works are identifiable in the wills of only six of the testators. This confirms the established national picture that book ownership was rare, vernacular books much rarer than Latin ones, and among vernacular books, pious or devotional works preponderant. Here too wills need cautious interpretation, for books were not always thought worth bequeathing, especially after c 1450, and where they are mentioned, books are not always sufficiently identifiable to be classified. It is interesting, however, to identify the secular texts bequeathed by the six testators: *De Veteribus Historiis* (in French), a 'romans' called 'Bruyt', a book called 'Maundeuyll', a French *Tristrem*, a collection of books 'concerning the law of the land', and two books of romance, one identified as the *Sept Sages de Rome*, the other beginning with the Ten Commandments. Dr. Vale does not comment on the identification of this text.

Dr. Vale's study will obviously be appreciated by everyone interested in the families of the Yorkshire gentry, and it is also valuable to all students of various aspects of the history of this class in the country at large, and to researchers into medieval education, lay attitudes to religion, and the stirrings of social conscience. While developing a local topic, Dr. Vale keeps the national picture well in focus for the reader.

The University of Liverpool

HELEN M. JEWELL

SHORTER NOTICES

R. E. BATCHELOR, *Yorkshire's Early History*, Huddersfield: The Advertiser Press 1973, pp. 116, illus., 45p.

This small book contains a simple account of Yorkshire history from the last glaciation, intended for the use of schoolchildren. A chapter on the work of the monks in the county is perhaps the best section.

Borthwick Institute Bulletin, I, 2, York 1976, pp. 42.

This issue contains two articles. In 'Towards a history of archive-keeping in the Church of York: I. The Archbishop's muniments' Miss K. M. Longley describes the storage and treatment of the archiepiscopal records from 1509, in particular the smoky room and obstructive custodians graphically sketched by Bruce in 1850, physical conditions still hardly changed in 1949. No documents earlier than c 1020-30 survive and many records seem to have been lost or purloined by Paver in the nineteenth century. Dr. Smith's reconstruction from abstracts by Torre of the York register of 1352-3, written while the see was vacant after Archbishop De la Zouche's death, summarises 94 entries, mostly institutions to beneficiaries or licenses of various sorts.

Local Population Studies, 16, Nottingham: University Dept. of Adult Education 1976, pp. 64, illus., 75p.

Most of this number is occupied by a study made by Mrs. M. F. Pickles of Mid-Wharfedale from 1721 to 1812. This is based on the parish registers of Otley, Ilkley and seven adjoining parishes and in it Mrs. Pickles analyses occupations, notes agricultural changes, traces the development of industry, especially of the textile trade, and gives evidence for nonconformity. The growth of population after 1740 was a consequence of natural increase without any immigration. The diet, cleanliness and housing of the inhabitants are examined for an explanation of the fall of mortality in the

later eighteenth century which permitted this growth. The population of mid-Wharfedale, some 7000 in 1664, had risen to 12,500 in 1811, with over a third engaged in industry and another third employed on the land. By 1800 technological advances supported the increased numbers, which for some years appeared to have outstripped the means of subsistence. Although the area studied is small, only 23 miles long, it is by such detailed work as this, well supplied with tables and graphs, that an accurate picture of demographic trends can be built up for the county and for the whole of England.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF YORKSHIRE PERIODICALS 1975-1976

By S. A. RAYMOND, A. Y. BROADBENT and D. J. H. MICHELMORE¹

This bibliography includes all periodical articles relating to Yorkshire's history and archaeology which appeared in Yorkshire periodicals other than the *Y. A. J.* itself in 1975 and 1976. Articles appearing in national periodicals are not listed here; they may generally be traced in the Antiquaries Journal list of 'Periodical Literature'.

Some attempt has been made here to provide a classified listing with cross-references; criticisms of the system will be welcome. The periodicals searched, and the abbreviations used, are as follows:—

<i>Blanc S.</i>	Blanc Sanglier
<i>BI. Bull</i>	Borthwick Institute Bulletin
<i>BP</i>	Borthwick Papers
<i>C & TLHS. Bull</i>	Cleveland & Teesside Local History Society Bulletin
<i>CLHSJ</i>	Cottingham Local History Society Journal
<i>EYLHS. Bull</i>	East Yorkshire Local History Society Bulletin
<i>FYM. An. R.</i>	Friends of York Minister Annual Report
<i>HLLSQ</i>	Humberside Libraries Local Studies Quarterly
<i>Lds. AC</i>	Leeds Arts Calendar
<i>NRASYC. Bull</i>	National Register of Archives South Yorkshire Committee Bulletin
<i>NY & CVBSGN</i>	North Yorkshire & Cleveland Vernacular Buildings Study Group Newsletter
<i>NYCROP</i>	North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications
<i>SHS. Bull</i>	Saddleworth Historical Society Bulletin
<i>TSP</i>	Thoresby Society Publications
<i>U. Lds. Rev.</i>	University of Leeds Review
<i>YA</i>	Yorkshire Architect
<i>YAGP</i>	York Art Gallery Preview
<i>YAS FHPSS</i>	Yorkshire Archaeological Society Family History & Population Studies Section Newsletter
<i>YAS LHS</i>	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Local History Study Section Bulletin
<i>YAS PRS</i>	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Parish Register Section
<i>YDST</i>	Yorkshire Dialect Society Transactions
<i>York History</i>	
<i>York Historian</i>	
<i>YPS. An. R.</i>	Yorkshire Philosophical Society, Annual Report

1. The Authors wish to thank Mrs. A. Rutherford for her assistance in compiling this bibliography.

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